# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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**National Anti-Slavery Standard.**

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## Pro-Slavery.

### YEADON'S APOLOGY FOR EVERETT.

[The Richmond *South* and other fire-eating papers having protested against the hospitalities recently extended by the Southern people to the "Laudator of Washington," on the score of his being an Abolitionist, and of his placing his signature to a complimentary testimonial tendered by the leading citizens of Boston to Senator Sumner, Mr. Richard Yeadon, of Charleston, comes to the rescue in the following article:]

From the Charleston (S. C.) Courier, May 1.

MR. EVERETT is charged with having signed an address, prefatory to a subscription list, for a testimonial to the craven Senator of Massachusetts, on the occasion of his well-deserved caning by our gallant, beloved and lamented Brooks, galled by wanton and unprovoked insult to his venerable and absent kinsman and to his mother State, in which address highly disparaging expressions and even vulgar abuse were used towards that chivalrous, but now departed spirit, and other expressions were freely indulged in, deeply and justly offensive to the South. We concede the charge to be literally true, and willingly add that, were it actually true, we should have been the last to have invited Mr. Everett among us, no, not as "orator, patriot or statesman," nor as "Cicero of America, laudator of Washington, high priest of the Union, apostle of charity, or friend of mankind," all of which we religiously believe him to be, and are neither ashamed nor afraid again and again to proclaim him. We proceed, however, to give the explanation, which satisfied us and also satisfied the most extreme Southern rights gentlemen of our city, and procured their signatures to the invitation to Mr. Everett. This explanation we have often contemplated making public ere now, but we withheld it only because we knew it would be distasteful to Mr. Everett to give it at a time when it would have worn the aspect of conciliating hostility and courting welcome. But, as the gifted orator and distinguished patriot has been welcomed alike to Virginia, Georgia and South Carolina, and been cordially invited to every Southern State, even with the supposed blot on his escutcheon, there is no longer any delicacy involved, nor any danger of alarming the sensitive nature of Mr. Everett in making the proper explanation, especially since the "fire in the rear" has been recently opened on him with increased violence.

Shortly after the chastisement of the dastardly Sumner, in the Senate Chamber, by the impetuous Brooks, sundry citizens of Boston determined to get up a subscription for a testimonial to the *caned* calumniator, by way of consoling him, we suppose, in his crest-fallen condition and most pitiable plight; and a prefatory address was attached to it. With numerous or at least several signatures already appended, it was brought by one of the signers to Mr. Everett, at a time when he was sick in bed and under the confusing influence of an anodyne, and he was asked to subscribe to the testimonial. Seeing the signature of the Mayor of Boston and others to the paper, and not supposing that it contained aught of a violent or offensive character, Mr. Everett signed without reading it, and in the entire ignorance of, if not actually misled as to its contents. On seeing the paper in print, he was greatly pained, mortified and chagrined at perceiving the intemperate and vulgar slang to which his name had been unconsciously attached, and he soon after addressed a letter to a friend in Charleston, explaining and regretting the untoward occurrence, and disavowing the sentiments contained in the paper. Here the matter rested, without further explanation, until our visit to Boston last autumn, to restore the remains of the gifted Legaré to his mother soil, when we called at Mr. Everett's residence, as well with a view to the delivery of his oration on Washington, in this city, as to the object of our mission, but we failed to see him, as he was then absent from Boston. We subsequently called on and had a deeply interesting interview, however, with a distinguished and bosom friend of Mr. E., in whose house and whose arms the lamented Legaré breathed his last, and, in the course of conversation, we chanced to mention our disappointment at Mr. E.'s absence, especially in reference to a renewed invitation to him to visit Charleston, and also alluded to the explanation, given above, of Mr. E.'s signature of a paper so offensive to South Carolina, which our distinguished host fully confirmed, adding, substantially, "Sir, I can tell you what is much more to the purpose; not only did my friend, Mr. E., sign the paper, under the circumstances stated by you, but he went much further. He made it a point to express his discontent to the gentleman who had procured his signature to the document, and addressed a letter to Mr. Sumner himself, disavowing the sentiments contained in the exceptionable document to which his (Mr. E.'s) seeming sanction had been unconsciously given." We add further, that the proposed testimonial proved a failure, and the same has never been presented or purchased.

The foregoing explanation is now given, when its motive cannot be suspected, and that motive is simply to tell truth and do justice to an eminent and patriotic citizen; and we deem it due to Mr. E. to add that, although the facts of the explanation are confirmed by Mr. E. himself, their publication is unauthorized by him, and made of our own motion, without his privity or consent.

We trust that the censure, unjustly incurred by ourselves, and the vindictive assaults made on us for the prominent part we have borne in Mr. Everett's invitation and reception here, will prove our apology to our illustrious friend for doing him the justice of the foregoing explanation.

We may, perhaps, take another opportunity to answer certain unfounded charges against Mr. Everett, accusing him of abolitionism, Freemontism, and Free-Soilism of the Sumner school. For the present, however, we content ourselves with saying that we know him to hold the institution of slavery to be a legal one, entitled to the protection of the Constitution, and to be neither sinful in itself nor anti-scriptural; to have been a conservative Old Line and Fillmore Whig in the last contest for the Presidency; and that although, like most other men born and bred in non-slaveholding countries, he is no advocate or propagandist of slavery, yet for his expressed and still entertained opinions he has been and is still denounced and vituperated as a pro slavery man, by the Abolitionists of Boston and Massachusetts. They will never forgive a man, and a statesman, who declared, in Congress, as the representative from Boston, that "there was no cause in which he would sooner buckle a knapsack on his back, and place a musket on his shoulder, than to put down a servile insurrection in the South."

The speech of Mr. Everett in which the foregoing emphatic declaration was made was his maiden speech, in the House of Representatives, delivered March 9, 1826, in reply to resolutions introduced by Mr. McDuffie, to change the manner of electing Presidential Electors.

The following is the version of that speech given in a recent number of the *South Carolinian*:

"Having touched on this point, I ought, perhaps, to add that, if there are any members in this House of that class of politicians to whom the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Saunders) alluded, as having the disposition, though not the power, to disturb the compromise contained in the Constitution on this point, I am not of the number. Neither am I one of those citizens of the North to whom another honourable member lately referred, in a publication, to which his name was subscribed, who would think it immoral and irreligious to join in putting down a servile insurrection at the South. I am no soldier, sir; my habits and education are very unmilitary; but there is no cause in which I would sooner buckle a knapsack to my back, and put a musket on my shoulder, than that. I would cede the whole continent to any one who would take it—to England, to France, to Spain—I would see it sunk in the bottom of the ocean, before I would see any part of this fair America converted into a Continental Hayti, by that awful process of bloodshed and desolation by which alone such a catastrophe could be brought on. The great relation of servitude, in some form or other, with greater or less departures from the theoretic equality of man, is inseparable from our nature. I know of no way by which the form of this servitude shall be fixed but by political institution. Domestic slavery, though I confess not that form of servitude which seems to me most beneficial to the master—certainly not that which is most beneficial to the slave—is not, in my judgment, to be set down as an immoral and irreligious relation. I cannot admit that religion has but one voice to the slave, and that this voice is, 'Rise against your master.' No, sir, the New Testament says, 'Slaves, obey your masters'; and, though I know full well that, in the benignant operation of Christianity, which gathered master and slave around the same communion-table, this unfortunate institution disappeared in Europe, yet I cannot admit that, while it subsists, and where it subsists, its duties are not pre-supposed and sanctioned by religion. And, though I certainly am not called upon to meet the charges brought against this institution, yet truth obliges me to say a word more on the subject. I know the condition of the working classes in other countries; I am intimately acquainted with it in some other countries; and I have no hesitation in saying that I believe the slaves in this country are far better clothed and fed, and less hardly worked, than the peasantry of some of the most prosperous states of the continent of Europe. Consider the checks on population; read Malthus. What keeps population down? Poverty, want, starvation, disease, and all the ills of life; it is these that check population all over the world. Now, the slave population in the United States increases faster than the white, masters included. What is the inference as to the physical condition of the classes of society? These are opinions, I have long entertained, and long since publicly professed on this subject, and which I here repeat; in answer to the intimations to which I have already alluded."

### DEMOCRATIC EXULTATION.

[In the evening after the passage of the English-Lecompton bill, the Democrats in Washington got up a procession which marched to the President's mansion and to the houses of several of the party leaders, who came out and addressed the crowd. We give a sketch of some of the speeches.]

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

GENTLEMEN: I feel very much honoured by the kindness which you have displayed in coming in such respectable numbers to give me a serenade. I have long been acquainted with Washington. I have been intimate with my fellow-citizens of this city for a longer period than many of you have lived, and I have never received anything but kindness, attention and good will from the population of this District (cheers). I thank you most cordially that the kindness which your fathers have extended to me still lives in the breasts of their children, and I hope, when I leave this city, if I live to return to my quiet home, I shall carry with me your affectionate regard—which I shall endeavour to deserve (applause). This is a great occasion on which you have assembled. It is far above men. The best interests of the country were involved in the long contest which has so happily terminated (applause). I hope and believe the result will tend to promote the peace and prosperity of our glorious Union (cheers)—and of all the people upon the face of the earth, the people of Washington are the most interested in preserving this unity of interests, which has rendered us glorious abroad and successful and prosperous at home (cheers). I do not think that it will be becoming in me to enter into any discussion of the great question which has so happily terminated. I, therefore, must conclude these brief remarks with again repeating to you how heartily I feel your kindness, and how gratefully I shall ever remember it to the last period of my existence (cheers).

MR. TOOMBS'S SPEECH.

The President, having r[illegible]ed, again approached the window, and remarked there were several gentlemen with him. He did not know whether his friend Toombs would be willing to speak or not. Immediately there was a loud and prolonged call for Senator Toombs, who came forward, and, as soon as quiet was restored, spoke as follows: Being introduced by the distinguished patriot and chief magistrate who has just addressed you, as well as encouraged by your complimentary notice, I suppose I must join my congratulations with yours upon this auspicious occasion, which calls for rejoicing throughout this broad land. After a contest of ten years, growing out of sectional differences, we have, yesterday, in the House of Representatives and Senate, passed a measure—and I doubt not it will be confirmed by the President of the United States—of great permanent peace for ourselves and our children after us (applause). This is a pacification in which there has been no dishonour anywhere—in which there has been no concession by the North to the South or by the South to the North, but in a spirit of brotherhood and patriotism they have come together and settled their sectional differences upon a sacred and permanent and fundamental ground of public principle and public honour (applause). Therefore, as there is a triumph nowhere, there is a stain nowhere, and we see nothing in the bright and brilliant future but peace and harmony, and prosperity to the glorious organization of the Democratic party, who have brought the country safe through all its struggles. Therefore, gentlemen, I have a right to rejoice. Let us all rejoice. Let the voice reverberate from the hill tops and through the valleys all over this land—from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the lakes to the Gulf—that there is peace, true peace, honourable peace throughout all the land of America (applause). And who are there to oppose it? who shall raise a voice to destroy it (a voice in the crowd, "Nobody")? Where shall it come from? It can only come from the disappointed cabal—the coalition who traffic in public safety, public honour, and they will sink in glorious obscurity, while the star of America shall rise and shine transcendent now and forever (great cheering).

SPEECH OF MR. ENGLISH.

[Mr. English, of Indiana, the doughface author of the new Kansas bill, unbosomed himself as follows:]

I was raised in the Western country; I have seen a good deal of the wilderness, and know something about hunting. I am pretty well up to all sorts of traps in the forest. Many is the time that I have run the "varmint" into his hole in a hollow tree, or in the ground; and when I got him treed, as we call it in the West, I could always tell whether it was fur or hair that I was after. I could tell what the animal was by the signs. Now, when the Black Republicans set this last trap and invited me to come into it, I said to myself, I beg to be excused. I had no objection to side along up near enough to look into the entrance to it and see what the signs were; but that was as far as I would go.

The signs did not suit me. I saw neither fur nor hair, but any quantity of *wool*, and then there was an *odour* not at all agreeable to my olfactories. It reminded me of the home of an animal I need not mention to you. I caught a glimpse of a figure within very much in the semblance of Horace Greeley. It was long, lean, lank, cadaverous, white-livered and hollow-hearted. I knew that was no place for me, and that I never could become a member of the Republican household. I never could act with men so much governed by hatred for one portion of their fellow-citizens, and who would, I fear, strike down one entire section of this country if they only had the power to do so.

The doctrines of the Black Republicans never can be carried out fully, because the God of Nature intended that they should not be. They can never make a black man anything else than a black man. They never can elevate the black race to an equality with the white race. Never, by my vote or by my act, will I aid them in attempting to do it. I never want to see the day come in this country when the black man shall sit at the table with the white man, upon terms of perfect equality. I never want to see the day come in this country when the children of the black man shall go into the school-house and sit side by side with the children of the white man. I never want to see the day come in this country when the black man shall step up to the polls, upon terms of equality with the white man, and deposit his vote. I never want to see the day come in this country when the black man shall go into the jury-box and sit in judgment upon the rights, the property, or the life of the white man (cries of "Never!" "Never!"). These things, fellow-citizens, I do not want to see. These things I am ready to resist to the utmost of my ability. I want to see no such doctrines as these carried out in this happy republic of ours.

### SOMETHING TO BE REMARKED.

From The Christian Intelligencer (Reformed Dutch).

THE Rev. W. H. Furness, a *Unitarian clergyman*, of Philadelphia, has recently published a sermon on the present "Revival," in which the idea of a Divine agency is *entirely repudiated*. In all the reformations and conversions which have resulted from it, and all the movements by which it has been promoted, he finds only *one good* thing—the amen which certain Abolitionists uttered at a meeting in New York city, when prayer was offered in behalf of a fugitive slave. But this is not all that is extraordinary in that sermon, and that marks its publication as an era in the progress of religious ideas. He recognises but *one revival of religion* having happened *since the days of the Apostles*, and that is the one which, as he affirms, commenced twenty-five years ago, when the *Anti-Slavery Society was organized!*

These sentiments have been entertained for many years, no doubt; it is now that they are spoken. And is it not better that they should be spoken than concealed as heretofore? We shall soon know what these men mean. We shall understand in whose company we have been found. We shall comprehend the ends we have been promoting. It will require but a short time to effect it all. Abolitionism will be understood to be another gospel; and men who love and pray for revivals of religion will comprehend that they are stultifying themselves, for there has been but one after all—the *progress of anti-slavery opinions!*

What impiety all this is! Who would have believed that in promoting the cause of human liberty he was only aiding the triumph of such men? Furness and the *Liberator* have spoken out; they, at least, are frank and above-board. We do not approve their sentiments, but we like to hear them speak out. It is important that they should do so. The cause of righteousness will be promoted by an honest, open and full avowal of their opinions and aims. If it is *necessary*, in order to be *a Christian*, to believe that slavery is the "sum of all villanies," and that all who do not unite heart and soul in efforts to extirpate it are the *abettors* of the villany, we ought to know it. It will assist us in understanding our position as it regards the Christian religion.

### PASSAGE OF THE KANSAS CONFERENCE BILL.

From The South.

THIS morning we have the satisfaction to announce the passage of the Kansas Conference Bill, by very decisive majorities in both Houses of Congress.

Most sincerely do we congratulate the country on the result. It closes a sickening and distracting controversy. It achieves a Congressional recognition of the Lecompton Constitution. It affirms the principles for which the South has contended throughout the struggle. It admits Kansas into the Union as a slave State, and thus consolidates the victory of 1854. In practice as well as principle, it is now established that no Federal prohibition will avail to restrict the expansion of the pro-slavery power.

In view of such important consequences the people of the South will accept this settlement of the Kansas controversy with unfeigned satisfaction.

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With two exceptions, every State Rights Democrat of the South voted for the Conference Bill, and it succeeded in recalling most of those Democrats from the North who had enrolled themselves under the fugitive banner of Douglas.

The last hours of the opposition were devoted to an endeavour to excite the distrust of the South, by showing that the bill was subject to a difference of construction upon a material point, and that the parties to it did not put the same interpretation upon its provisions.

When the subject came up, the Southern members availed themselves of a suspension of the call for the previous question, to place themselves right on the record, by stating that they were satisfied the bill did not submit the Lecompton Constitution to the popular vote.

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This question of interpretation has been, however, settled by the declaration of the members of the Conference Committee, the vote of Congress and the concession of the Black Republicans. For if it was believed that the Lecompton Constitution was submitted, why did the Black Republicans vote against the bill? Their opposition is a clear proof that, according to their construction, no such submission is intended, whilst the declarations on the other side of Messrs. Hunter and Stephens, and the vote of the whole South in favour of the bill, are conclusive of this understanding on the Southern side—that the Lecompton Constitution was affirmed as legal and final, and that Congress only passed upon the naked question of admission.

We regard the passage of this bill as tending to a permanent settlement of the slavery question, because the whole country has now given up the Wilmot proviso, and no further attempt can be made by Congress to prevent the people of a Territory from deciding the question for themselves. Some of the Black Republicans, in going over to Douglas, accept and avow his doctrine of popular sovereignty. Upon this he has converted them. But our reasons for predicting a settlement, are these: If Kansas does not enter the Union now, she will have no power to form a new Constitution for several years to come, without an act of open rebellion against the United States. The new bill is a disabling act in this particular. We may then anticipate a period of comparative quiet, during which the public mind will settle down on the non-intervention doctrine. Again: The true reason why this excitement has been so great is two-fold. 1. That Kansas was, according to the honest belief of many people in the North, "dedicated to freedom," and the repeal of the Missouri restriction, was, in their opinion, a breach of faith. This erroneous opinion was sedulously inculcated and produced mischievous effects. 2. That Kansas is the last territory in which the conflicting interests of slavery and free labour can be brought into contact and competition.

Henceforth the progress of the two rival interests will separate and divide farther and farther from each other. The North will develop itself towards Oregon, whilst the South, having interposed the whole body of the slave States between herself and her antagonists, will advance to the South-West upon the line of Northern Mexico and the Pacific ocean. Unless the two rivals are brought together in Central America, we cannot see how this fight is to be revived with the same animosity or excitement.

The passage of the Kansas Bill has demonstrated the equal admissibility of the slave States. We shall now have encouragement, so long as that principle shall be respected, in going on to add to the area occupied by Southern institutions, whilst the first refusal to receive a slave State soliciting admission into the Union will present an evidence that the Government is no longer equal and a cause for a reorganization upon different principles.

We have no wish to see the Union dissolved so long as it can be administered justly. We think the equity of its administration depends upon the ascendancy of the Democratic party; but that party must continue to stand upon the ground taken in the Kansas controversy by the Administration and Congress.

Whilst, therefore, the Kansas bill, as reframed by the Conference Committee, concedes no principle for which we have ever contended, we rejoice that its adoption has been the means of once more reüniting the Democratic party upon sound and constitutional ground, and that it has commended and confirmed the Administration to the confidence of the country.

### LETTER FROM AN INDIANA CONGRESSMAN.

[The Cincinnati *Gazette* publishes the following letter from one of those members of Congress who, after acting for a time with the Douglas Democrats against the Lecompton swindle, turned about, under Executive manipulation, and voted for the English compromise.]

WASHINGTON, April 22 58

Dear friend:—your Kind favor of the 14 Inst. is to hand. I was glad to here from you the indication is the Kansas trobles will be settled to day by the democrat party. Which will be a time of rejoysing the administration has all Redy reenstated me in full felership—if my friend John L. Robinson will consent I will be Permitted to act with the democrat Party agine the Settlement will be on the Great Principles of noninterventions so you will see we poor devels have held our ground well. I See from your letter I will have plenty of compeditors in the convention well it is a free country they have a right to be candudates And the people have a rite to Select the one that will suit them best and if they want a man that will labor for the interest of the masses they will chuse myself so I leave them perfectly free to chuse for them self

any favor you can render me will be taken Kindlys, and I feel certin I can carry the District—turn me loase in the district I will bring them up to the poles certin. I will help the hold ticet some hundreds in the district.

I will be home by the 10 of june and will have a chance to see my friends be fore the convention comes off and will write my friends on the subject from the custom and circumstances I think I ought to have a chance of the next rase—you will do me a kindness by seeing as many of the friends as conveant and Enlist them in my favor I have been quite unwell the last week I feel much better to day—I hope this will find you and family well

your friend JAS. B. FOLEY.

### AMERICAN SLAVERY.

THE Gertrude, Captain Doane, reached the Mersey a few days ago from New Orleans. The master of the vessel would, no doubt, be much surprised to learn, on his arrival here, that he and his vessel had suddenly obtained great notoriety, and that, whether rightly or wrongly, much honest indignation had been excited at his proceedings. This arose from the fact that in the underwriters' room a notice had been posted, and was afterwards copied into the *Mercury*, stating that, after proceeding 400 miles on her voyage, the Gertrude had put back to give again into bondage a poor runaway slave who had managed to secrete himself on board the vessel. We were, on Wednesday, favoured with a call from Captain Doane, who feels anxious to give to the public the fullest explanation in reference to his conduct in this matter. We ought, perhaps, to state at first that Captain Doane is a British subject, being a native of St. John's, New Brunswick, and that he has as thorough a detestation of slavery and the vile traffic in human beings as any man in Her Majesty's dominions. The stevedores employed to load the Gertrude at New Orleans were Messrs. Brown and Gale, and the unfortunate stowaway was the slave—a part of the goods and chattels—of these men. For three days before the vessel sailed for this port the negro was absent from his work. There was a coloured crew on board the Gertrude, and it being suspected that the "darkies" assisted in stowing away the missing negro, the captain was informed of the circumstance. It was not, however, till the ship had proceeded 400 miles on her voyage to this port that the poor fellow who was fleeing from his owners made his appearance on deck. Under the circumstances the captain was placed in a most difficult position. The fact that the man was missing was well known at New Orleans, and every man on board the ship knew, of course, that the poor fellow had made his escape in the Gertrude. The captain was, therefore, at the mercy of any man who chose to inform against him, and the consequences both to himself and the owners were most serious. By the humane laws of the slave States the captain of any vessel who carries away a slave is liable to be fined in the sum of $5,000 and to be imprisoned for 15 years! The penalty to be inflicted and the sentence of imprisonment passed upon him whenever he sets foot again in one the slave States; and, should the vessel again enter one of the slave ports, she is liable to be confiscated. This explanation fully exonerates the captain from all blame. Even if he had himself been inclined to run the risk of fine and imprisonment, he had no right to endanger the property of his employers. The indignation of our country must therefore be reserved, not for the captain, but for the atrocious system of which both the captain and the negro were the victims.—*Liverpool Mercury.*

THE NEGRO-PHOBIA ILLUSTRATED.—A member of the California Legislature, who believes in the Dred Scott decision and thinks Buchanan both a statesman and a patriot, lately introduced the following bill, in good faith, for passage:

AN ACKT

To prevent niggers kummin to Kallyforny

*The peeple uv the Stait of Kallyforny, represented in Sennit and Assembly, du enact az follers:*

Section 1. No nigger not now an inhabbitent uv, in, and legul voter in this stait, shall be pemitted to liv, rezide, or stay in this stait enny longer.

Sec. 2. Enny nigger hoo wilfully or axidently violats the furst seckshun uv this ackt shell be trunsported from this stait and sold to the lowest bidder, Chinamen excluded.

Sec. 3. Niggers who kum with their masters tu sojurn temperarily shell not be inklewded in the provizions uv this ackt; *provided:* such sojurning don't exseed 40 years. If enny ship get recked on the shoars uv this stait with a nigger on borde; and if such nigger shed tri tu swim, he shell be pushed under the wotter.

Sec. 4. All ackts or parts uv ackts contravenin this, is repeeled.

*Enackting Claws.*—A nigger is herebi deklared an obnoxshus newsans, not to permited, and evry Sherif in this stait may be a nigger driver if he chuses.

THE APPROACHING GENERAL ASSEMBLY.—The General Assembly of our Church will hold its meeting the present year in Chicago, commencing two weeks hence, on the 20th inst. We furnish in another column the names of as many of the members as we have been able to ascertain. In respect of ability, it promises to be a very fair body of men. No agitating subjects will probably come before it. The slavery discussion, which commenced warmly in the very year after the division, and has been continued, with occasional intermission, since, has, we trust, come to an end among us. The secession of the Southern portion of our Church has taken the necessity of further discussion and action out of the way; and ample time will now be afforded for attention to those great practical interests on which our welfare and advancement as a denomination depend.—*N. Y. Evangelist.*

## Selections.

### THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND ITS ASSAILANTS.

From The Carlisle (Eng.) Examiner.

TO THE EDITOR.

DEAR SIR: I once indulged in the hope that the old cry of infidelity which was at one time very vehemently raised against the American Abolitionists had died a natural death in this country, as it appears to have done in the United States. To say nothing of the obligations which honour and gratitude imposed upon every lover of freedom not to take part in any attack upon those who, whatever might be their religious opinions, had furnished the sublimest proofs of their loyalty to the cause of the slave, it appears to be impossible that Englishmen, with their knowledge of the principles upon which public movements in this country are based, should denounce the American Anti-Slavery Society for inviting the coöperation of Christians and unbelievers, just as the Anti-Corn-Law League did in its day, and the thousand-and-one moral and political associations are doing at the present time. But I have lately observed a partial resuscitation of the old cry against our American friends; and that too only in those places which have been visited by a certain Miss Julia Griffiths, who has come to this country on a professedly anti-slavery mission.

This lady recently made her appearance in Newcastle-on-Tyne, and there has since appeared in the *Northern Daily Express* an article entitled "A new Anti-Slavery Movement in Newcastle." After recalling to the recollection of the young men of that town "the glorious and successful struggle which not only wiped from England a foul blot that for generations had stained her escutcheon, but morally ennobled the men engaged in it," the writer proceeds to lament the virtual extinction of the local Anti-Slavery Societies, and to inform "the Christian philanthropists of Newcastle" that "an excellent opportunity is just now presented to them to furbish up their arms and to enter once more on the conflict." So far, so good.

The writer then warmly eulogizes Mr. Frederick Douglass and his paper, scandalously maligns the Abolitionists, whose principles Mr. Douglass has betrayed, and awards to Miss Griffiths the highest honours of philanthropy. He says:

"His (Mr. D.'s) paper is at this moment doing its work with increased influence, while it offers a rallying point, and holds up a standard of hope in the midst of the troubled conflicts of American Abolitionists. Its great guiding principles are two. First, That it should fight its battles on the ground of the Constitution, as one essentially opposed to slavery, and seek to preserve the Union as the most effectual means of freeing the slave. And, second, That the anti-slavery movement be based on Christianity, a Christianity broad and catholic, but, at the same time, thorough and evangelical. Now, in the upholding these two principles, Mr. Douglass has had to contend not only against the pro slavery sentiment of America, which is as general and strong as it is mean and contemptible, *but also against a certain party of Abolitionists who openly proclaim that their hatred to slavery is only equalled by their detestation of the Christian faith*. Hence Frederick Douglass's paper—which is the only paper now in America owned and edited by a coloured man—has never been a commercial success, while it has unquestionably exerted a great moral power, and its extinction now would be an unspeakable calamity. To prevent this, and at the same time to advance the general cause of negro emancipation in other ways, Miss Julia Griffiths, an English lady, who for some years has resided in America, and devoted herself with much ardour to the cause of emancipation, has been resuscitating old societies, and forming new ones where none existed, in many of the Scottish towns and some English ones. Miss Griffiths thoroughly understands the kind of help which American Christian Abolitionists require at the present time at the hands of their British friends; and she comes to us with the highest testimonials to her own worth and the goodness of the scheme of assistance she has to propound. It should be clearly understood that she is no 'Woman's Rights' advocate, but a sort of Elizabeth Fry or a Sarah Martin in the anti-slavery enterprise. Her custom is to gather together private meetings of her own sex interested in the cause she has at heart, and to organize ladies' societies, to aid in spreading anti-slavery information, and in the escape to Canada of fugitive slaves."

Those who are conversant with the slavery question in America do not need to be informed that the charge which the *Northern Daily Express* prefers against "a certain party of Abolitionists," of being hostile to the Christian faith as they are to the institution of slavery, is attributable either to unpardonable ignorance or to gross malignity. But unfortunately there are many persons really interested in the anti-slavery cause who are likely to be misled by libels of this kind, and, in consequence, to withhold their sympathy and support from the very party of American Abolitionists towards whom, if they were rightly informed, they would cherish the warmest feelings of gratitude and respect. In ignorance, they may be induced to turn their backs upon the noblest and most Christian advocates of the slave, and to unite themselves with those who have sacrificed his cause on the unholy altars of personal vindictiveness and religious bigotry.

I have nothing to say about the supreme folly of "the two guiding principles" which are attributed to Mr. Douglass's paper. The idea that the Constitution and the Union will rebuild that temple of liberty which they have made a desolating ruin, and give freedom to the millions whose limbs they have fettered, will provoke the derision not only of the deeply read student of American politics, but of the comparatively uninformed novice who may have perused those chapters of the history of Kansas which have appeared in the columns of *The Tribune* and the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD during the last three years.

But when we come to the statement of the *Northern Daily Express* that Mr. Douglass, in upholding the two principles above alluded to, has had to contend "against a certain party of Abolitionists who openly proclaim that their hatred to slavery is only equalled by their detestation of the Christian faith," we have to deal with what is really a very grave and serious matter. Those who are familiar with the history of the American Abolitionists, but more especially those who enjoy the privilege of their friendship, and are really acquainted with their views, not only of slavery, but of the Christian religion, know full well that a baser calumny was never given to an editor to print. Certainly my humble testimony is not needed, but yet I cannot forbear to say that, speaking as one who has resided in America, who has made himself acquainted with the principles and the policy of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and who regularly peruses those speeches and publications for which the Society may be considered responsible, I can truthfully declare that I know of no body of men and women, either within or without the pale of the Church, who have to a greater extent made Christianity—practical and pure, not sectarian and corrupt—"the guiding principles" of their public and private conduct. "If, therefore," I may say with Mr. Garrison, "the American Anti-Slavery Society be an infidel society, it is so only in the sense in which Jesus was a blasphemer, and the Apostles were seditious fellows, seeking to turn the world upside down. It is infidel to Satan, the enslaver; it is loyal to Christ, the Redeemer. It is infidel to a gospel which makes man the property of man; it is bound up with the gospel which requires us to love our neighbours as ourselves, and to call no man master. It is infidel to a Church which receives to its communion the traffickers in slaves and the souls of men; it is loyal to the Church which is not stained by blood or polluted by oppression. * * * No society has ever erected a higher moral standard, or more disinterestedly pursued its object, or more unfalteringly walked by faith, or more confidingly trusted in the living God for succour in every extremity and a glorious victory at last."

My object in addressing to you this letter is to impress upon our Abolitionist friends in the north—many of whom are among your readers—the duty of exerting themselves more than ever to make known the principles, and to vindicate the character, of the only vital anti-slavery movement in America. We have insidious foes yet to overcome; and we must not allow them to profit by our supineness. As for Miss Griffiths' mission, I presume no one objects to her raising money to sustain Mr. Frederick Douglass's paper. No one objects to the claim which is set up for her, that she is "a sort of Elizabeth Fry or Sarah Martin." No one objects to her appealing to a sectarian circle for the sinews of war; perhaps, indeed, the more contracted the circle is the better it may be for the true interests of the slave. But if Miss Griffiths is wise, she will confine herself to the legitimate business of her mission. Let her rest assured she will gain nothing either in money or reputation by herself traducing, or encouraging others to traduce, the only party of American Abolitionists whose leaders, by their chivalric and self-denying devotion to a great cause, have won for themselves a place in history, which a Howard or a Washington might envy. Very truly yours, F. W. CHESSON.

London, March, 1858.

### VINDICATION OF EDWARD EVERETT.

From The Evening Post.

THE taunts and abuse which the Richmond *South* and kindred journals have heaped upon Mr. Everett for his participation in the attempt to get up a testimonial to Mr. Sumner, on the occasion of his escape from assassination by Brooks, have led to an explanation from the pen of Mr. Yeadon, in the Charleston *Courier*, which we published yesterday. The writer formally denies that the document has been inspired by "Mr. Everett," but alleges that the facts have been confirmed by him. In other words, this is Mr. Yeadon's defence of his friend, the truth of which is vouched for by the friend himself; and we must say that, considering that it is put forth on behalf of the "Apostle of Charity" and "Friend of Mankind," a very extraordinary defence it is. The charge, be it remembered, was that Edward Everett had expressed his indignation in very strong terms at the commission of a murderous assault in the Senate Chamber of the United States upon a Senator, for words spoken in debate, and that he had on various occasions given utterance to opinions unfavourable to slavery, both as a social and political institution.

The accusation of being so disgusted with the Brooks outrage as to sign an address sympathizing with the victim of it is disposed of by alleging that, at the period when he committed this awful inadvertence, he was labouring under "the confusing influence of an anodyne," and, as soon as he became clothed in his right mind, hastened to repudiate it. As regards his sentiments on the subject of slavery, we are positively assured that "he holds the institution to be a legal one; neither sinful in itself nor anti-scriptural"; and we are given to understand pretty plainly that he adheres still to the opinions he uttered in 1826, when he declared that, "unmilitary as his habits and education were, there was no cause in which he would sooner buckle a knapsack on his back, and place a musket on his shoulder, than to put down a servile insurrection in the South."

Now, we do not pretend to know how the "Cicero of America," "the Laudator of Washington," "the High Priest of the Union," "Apostle of Charity" and "Friend of Mankind" ought to feel on any subject, human or divine; he may not have many feelings in common with ordinary mortals; but we do know how Christians and gentlemen all over the world feel about an assault committed by an armed upon an unarmed man; by a man standing in perfect freedom of limb, upon a man seated writing at a desk; by one legislator upon another in the halls of legislation; by a drunken bravo upon a scholar, an orator and a gentleman. We know, moreover, that all Christendom, outside the slave States, denounced this very assault in question as an execrable act, one of those *scelera infanda* which the tears of a nation cannot wash out. Throughout the whole of the North, and the whole of Europe, there was but one judgment in the matter. In no creed or code of honour in use anywhere out of Montenegro and the Barbary States of America could there be found a particle of palliation for it. The Church and the world both held it in utter abomination. Surely, what all Christendom denounces, in its sober senses, even Mr. Everett may condescend to denounce under "the confusing influence of an anodyne," without formally repudiating his act when the drug has ceased to operate. A person of his standing should not need narcotics to enable him to hold treachery and brutality in abhorrence.

Even if Mr. Sumner were the degraded wretch that Southern monomaniacs represent him to be, Mr. Everett need not have been afraid of losing caste by sympathizing with him, and might now preserve his gentility intact, without apologizing to the South for the weakness. His error, if error it was, was committed in good company. There were many, even of good standing and considerable literary pretensions, who testified, as far as social usages and their own self-respect would allow them, that Sumner was an ill-used individual, and, by necessary implication, that Brooks was a great blackguard. We believe Lord Brougham, the Lord Chancellor and Lord Chief Justice of England, and the Benchers of the Queen's Inns, are generally looked upon as respectable old gentlemen, and would be deemed "good society" either in Boston or Charleston; and yet they paid very marked attentions to the "caned calumniator" when they were in their sober senses, and have never apologized to anybody for doing so. In short, there was hardly a literary or scientific, legal or political celebrity of France or England who did not, during his recent visit to Europe, receive Charles Sumner as an honoured guest, no less for being the victim of felon strokes than for his accomplishments and honourable achievements. To be sure, none of them have been consecrated by a garrulous, pudding-headed South Carolina journalist as "high-priests," "sages," "friends of mankind," or "apostles of charity"—but their opinion in the matter of social proprieties is worth something for all that.

About Mr. Everett's opinion on slavery, as promulgated by his friend, we have nothing to say which has not been said a score of times. But we must add, that we hope Mr. Yeadon is going beyond his instructions when he represents his "sage's" desire to take the field against insurgent negroes thirty-two years ago as animating him still. We would fain not believe that half a century of study and meditation have so utterly stultified any human being that he knows no cause in which he would so freely risk his life as in suppressing a rising of unfortunate men, for the assertion of those "inalienable rights" without which Edward Everett himself would not have been a whit better than any drunken carman in Boston, or tallow-eating serf on the Volga.

### A MODEL LOCAL PREACHER.

REV. (?) LEVI D. TRAVERSE, a local preacher in the M. E. Church, who offered a reward of $300 for the arrest of "his man Aaron Cornish" and his "wife Daffney," has published a characteristic letter in the *American Eagle*, of Cambridge, Md., in which, among other beautiful things, he says, "I have never read from the Sacred volume a word condemnatory of the institution and practice of slavery." Ought not such a divine to share with Dr. Quigley the honours of the doctorate? Still further on he says, "I am a slaveholder; I hold twenty slaves (right or wrong) under the Constitution of the United States, and the laws of Maryland. * * * A part were born my slaves, and a part were purchased. * * * Now, as a slaveholder, I cannot conceive that as such I am rebelling against the righteous government of God, &c." And all this is in open contempt of the General Rule, which forbids the "buying" of slaves, and the chapter on slavery, which forbids an official member to *hold* a slave. And such are the men to retain whom in the Church, Dr. Stevens and others are anxious to hush up and suppress the agitation upon the subject of slavery. Reader! shall we keep quiet? Shall we succumb to a muzzled press? Shall we hold our peace, till SLAVERY has polluted every altar of our God, and spread its dire curse from the Chesapeake to the shores of our Northern lakes? May Heaven forbid! The battle is joined—"who is on the Lord's side."—M.—*Northern Independent.*

### IS THE REVIVAL A REFORMATION?

From The American Baptist.

THE important question for us to ask is, whether the Great Revival of 1858 shall also be the commencement of a Great Reformation? A revival without a reformation is worthless. Religion divorced from its connection with practical duties is the lifeless carcass whence the Spirit has fled. Many who profess to be eminently orthodox tell us that the preaching of the simple gospel, disconnected from all extraneous and exciting questions, is the grand antidote for the renovation of the world. Bearing on its face the appearance of truth, this language is used for the purpose of covering up a dangerous error. There is no question of a moral nature which is or can be extraneous to religion, as taught by our Saviour and his apostles. All questions of right and wrong, virtue and vice, justice and oppression, public or private, national or individual, social or political, fall within the appropriate sphere of Christian belief and practice. The ministry, the Church, or the individual professor, that purposely ignores a single moral precept or principle, or its application to every branch of human conduct, is undeserving of the Christian name. Such a Christianity is spurious, treacherous to its Lord, hypocritical in the sight of Heaven, and loathsome even to a graceless world. Infidels desire no better weapon with which to attack evangelical religion than a revival without a reformation. During the present outpouring of the Divine Spirit, it has been the especial object of some professedly liberal papers, to show that the revival has been pro-slavery in its character and tendencies. Happily there has been little that could afford any just ground for such a charge. The great bulk of the conversions have been where the genuine anti-slavery and reformatory sentiment has been strongest. It is the cold, selfish, conservative, pro-slavery Churches and communities that have stood aloof from this work. Our own columns have shown that the most successful preachers have been those who have decidedly and fearlessly manifested their sympathies with the cause of human rights, of temperance and kindred reforms. At the same time it cannot be denied that there have been, in many Churches, conservative, time-serving, stereotyped do-nothings who have regarded it as their especial office to guide the ark and prevent its jostling against any of the rotten bulwarks of time-honoured error or conventional wrong. Now is the favourable time to purge out this old leaven; now is the time for the good and the true to hold up the unalterable standard of Right; the banner whose motto is, No alliance, truce or compromise with sin. Now is the time for young converts, in the warmth of their first love, to take their stand on the side of God and righteousness, to become examples and preachers of purity, benevolence and self-consecration; Christians, in life, as well as in profession; political Christians that carry their principles with them when they go to the polls; commercial Christians, whose religion is as conspicuous in the counting-room as it is in the prayer-meeting; social Christians, who hold no fellowship with the hollow-heartedness, the deceit, the frivolity and fashion of a corrupt world; family Christians, who feel the responsibility of maintaining parental government, and of training up their offspring in the way they should go.

### AN ANTI-LECOMPTON SUNDAY SCHOOL.

From The Philadelphia Bulletin, May 3.

IT is to be presumed that all the Sabbath Schools in Philadelphia are anti-Lecompton, but the sentiments of one of them came out in rather an unexpected way last Sunday. An occasion of unusual interest had brought a very full attendance on the exercises of the school, and in honour of the event, the pastor or rector of the Church, under whose care it is, delivered a capital address, which was rather oddly interrupted. He was giving the hundreds of bright and intelligent little people, who eagerly listened to his simple and beautiful address, reasons why they should love the Saviour.

He said: "Now, children, you should love Him because He is a friend whom it is an honour to have. Suppose you should get a letter from some one in the penitentiary—would that be an honour?"

Of course all the larger children said "*No!*" and the younger ones echoed—"*No, sir!*"

"Well, then," said the minister, "suppose Gov. Packer would write to you—would that be an honour?"

The children, large and small, of course, shouted—"*Yes, sir!*"

"Now," pursued the speaker, "suppose Mr. Buchanan, the President, should write a letter to any one of you—would you not esteem that a very high honour indeed?"

Here ensued an awful pause—the bright faces looked puzzled, the mischievous ones began to laugh, and the younger ones looked anxiously towards the elder scholars for their cue. The taller boys looked at each other a moment and finally said, "*No, sir!*" and every child in the school, great and small, shouted out tumultuously, "*No, sir!*"

The teachers all smiled and the speaker laughed outright, but recovering himself in an instant, he said, "Why, children, this is all wrong! I like Mr. Buchanan. So ought you; you ought to love everybody; I had no idea of talking politics to you." He then went on to ask them if they would not like to receive a letter from Queen Victoria—"who certainly was a very estimable lady"—and the Queen of England not being involved in "Lecompton," the children expressed the opinion that a letter from her Majesty would be an honour.

The occurrence has furnished laughter to a large circle for two days, so we violate no confidence in thus giving it to the public.

### THE SOUTHERN MOVEMENT AGAINST NEW ENGLAND.

From The Evening Post.

AGREEABLY to an intimation made at an early stage of the session, the Southern Senators are moving for a repeal of the fishing bounties. Senator Clay, of Alabama, made a long argument upon the subject yesterday, and to all appearances, with the concurrence and approbation of the other Administration Senators. We will concede that he made out a very good case against the continuance of these bounties, and against the system of legislation which perpetuates them. Were the question of extending special protection to the New England fisheries to be presented now for the first time, and the Government asked to pay $300,000 a year out of the Treasury to encourage that kind of business, we presume but one view would be taken of it by all parties, and in every section of the Union. It would not be seriously entertained for a moment.

The proposition to repeal these bounties, however, is made just now under very suspicious circumstances. In the first place, it is clearly vindictive in its purpose, and is prompted by sectional animosity. New England is united against the extension of slavery; New England provides more intellect and more missionaries for the dissemination of anti-slavery sentiments, and more practical evidence of the bad economy of slavery, than all the rest of the Union. Because of her convictions upon this point, mainly, is she united in solid phalanx against the Administration, and the Administration against her. She is also exclusively interested in the fishing bounties. Her fisheries give employment to some fifteen thousand men, who have received through the Government some twelve million dollars for bounties since the Bounty act was passed. The fishing interest, therefore, was the most palpable and accessible "raw" which New England presented to the lash of sectional vindictiveness, especially under an administration which, for obvious reasons, dares not touch the tariff.

The fact that these bounties benefit New England, or that the New England States are the fountain of anti-slavery agitation, of course constitutes no good reason for continuing or for repealing them. If they are preferential in their character, if they give to one State or section privileges which are denied to or affect prejudicially other sections, they ought to cease; but let them cease by the operation of a general law. When New England surrenders her fishing bounties, let Louisiana surrender her sugar bounties, and Pennsylvania her iron and coal bounties. It is scarcely worth while to make two bites of a cherry; and when Congress is ready to abandon preferential legislation on principle, and not as a measure of proscription, the North, we hope, will be ready to unite with the South, and the East with the West, to place all the people of all the States on precisely an equal footing before the law.

We are aware that under ordinary circumstances it is no good reason for postponing one reform, that it does not embrace all the evils that require correction; and that when the correction is prompted by a desire for improvement, "pure and simple," it is wisest to deal with wrongs one by one as they occur, and to get rid of them as fast as possible. But in quarrying out public abuses, as in quarrying out rocks, it is sometimes necessary to leave some of the smaller to use as levers, by the aid of which to remove the larger ones. We never shall be rid of the sugar and iron monopolies, except as a condition

DEFECTIVE ORIGINAL COPY

of surrendering the fishing bounties—and we cannot afford, therefore, to abandon the latter until we have assurances that the former will go with them. If Mr. Clay will amend the sugar and iron duties, or even the sugar duties alone, he will relieve it of its sectional bearings, and unite every free trade man of all parties in its favour; but with the sugar duties shared between a few hundred Louisiana planters, in its pockets, it is with a bad grace that the South complains of the bounties that are shared by fifteen thousand New England fishermen.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 15, 1858.


CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "*Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, 138 Nassau street, New York.*"

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "*Publisher of the Anti Slavery Standard, 138 Nassau street, New York.*"

## New-England Anti-Slavery Convention.

THE Annual Meeting of the NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION will be held in Boston, in MERCANTILE HALL, Summer street, on WEDNESDAY and THURSDAY, May 26th and 27th, commencing at 10 o'clock, a. m., on each day.

With the tide of Anti-Slavery sentiment swelling higher and stronger in all directions, this anniversary ought to secure a larger and more enthusiastic gathering than has yet been witnessed on a similar occasion. Let all necessary home and business arrangements be seasonably made, so as to insure this most desirable attendance. A determined and united effort must be made, the coming year, to consecrate the soil of New England to freedom in all cases, by making it unlawful to hunt, arrest or try any person on the charge of being the slave or property of another, before any commissioner, jury, or other tribunal whatsoever. This must be the rallying-point until the work be consummated.

There will be no lack of able and eloquent champions of the cause at this anniversary. [Particulars hereafter.]

In behalf of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, FRANCIS JACKSON, *President.*
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, *Secretary.*

DR. CHEEVER'S SERMON.—Our readers will be disappointed in not finding in this paper the promised sermon of Dr. Cheever on the Revival as connected with Slavery. Its non-appearance is due to the fact, that Dr. Cheever, after placing his manuscript in our hands, was consulted by persons who desired to give him an opportunity to repeat it before other congregations than his own, and at their suggestion he concluded to delay the publication for a time. We may publish it at a future time, but shall not be able to do so until after disposing of the reports of the Anniversary.

## *INFLUENCE OF RUSSIA ON THE UNITED STATES.*

WHEN the independence of America was declared, all Europe felt the awakening energy. There was not a little village in the interior that was not astir with new hopes. Monarchs dreaded change, and statesmen predicted Universal Freedom, so strong, so temperate, so judicious, so profoundly true did the movement seem.

But the new Republic admitted slavery, and the drag of wrong upon it, at first scarcely perceptible, at length quite turned the movement backward; so that now not a village in the United States of America but feels the higher moral influence of Russia. The proposition for emancipation coming from thence affects us, as our early good example affected Europe. The advancing Despotism leads the retrograding Republic.

What a contrast between the Emperor Alexander II., the servant of Freedom, and President Buchanan, the tool of Slavery! The one earnestly labouring for the emancipation of serfs, the other frantically striving for the enslavement of freemen. The whole *rôle* of the two nations is now reversed. Russia occupies the post of honour, while the "Model Republic" is presented by her government to the eye of other nations as disgracefully lapsing back into barbarism.

But things are not always as they seem. Notwithstanding the disgraceful history of recent years, there are hundreds and hundreds of thousands in the United States—soon to become a triumphant majority—who bless the name of ALEXANDER II., and follow him in his noble work with ardent and admiring sympathy and grateful respect.

How can our planters fail to be moved by the great example? With them rests the initiative, in Russia held to be imperial, of summoning committees and forming plans. The difficulties that Russia attacks without delay, counting on a twelve years' struggle, America might, from her vantage-ground, subdue to-morrow. Surely it cannot be that the high courage and sense of duty of the Emperor Alexander will have appealed to her in vain. It cannot be that our country will not be deeply impressed by the moral influences that seem to come to our own brethren of the South no less than to the Russian proprietors, from the noble deeds and life-long sacrifice, and from the inspiring words of Christian gentlemen like TOURGUENEFF and MOURAVIEFF.

Of one thing at least Russia may be immutably assured—that her high-souled Emperor, her philanthropic and devoted Nobles, and her worthy and patient people, presenting as they do at this moment a spectacle for gods and men to look upon with satisfaction, will be daily followed through the struggle of the coming twelve years by the sympathies, the hopes and the blessings of the American Abolitionists.

We hasten to give the interesting correspondence which claims of us all this truest expression of fraternity towards Russia.

[TRANSLATION.]

PARIS, Rue de Lelle, 1 April, 1858.

*To Madam Henry Grafton Chapman.*

MADAM: In the letter which you do me the honour to write to me, you ask information respecting the great work of the emancipation of the serfs in Russia.

It is with the utmost satisfaction, dear Madam, that I am able to reply that this work has been resolved upon—has been actually undertaken. Its initiation is due to the Emperor Alexander II. You may well imagine my feelings towards that noble prince.

Before speaking of the measures of the Russian Government for the emancipation of the serfs, let me describe their present condition.

The number of peasants living upon the estates of the nobility who are proprietors is more than twenty millions of both sexes.

About half of these pay their lords a certain sum of money annually, and have the improvement of all the land belonging to the commune. Oftentimes the land is not in quantity sufficient for the subsistence of the peasants, and then they betake themselves to all sorts of industrial occupations, which they carry on at a distance from their homes.

Although it depends absolutely on the will of the Noble to determine the rent, the peasants, in general, are not overburdened by it. Nay, it is sometimes so moderate that, in conjunction with other favourable circumstances, the peasants find themselves in a prosperous situation. This happens chiefly on the estates of wealthy landed proprietors.

The other half of the serfs work by the day, cultivating the land of the seigneur, who gives them about half for their own subsistence. The rule is that they shall work three days in the week for the proprietor, besides paying him something in kind and discharging certain other obligations.

The position of these day labourers is much more unfavourable than that of those who pay their rent in money. The proprietors are only too apt to transgress the rules both of labour and other dues, and arbitrary power sometimes attains enormous proportions.

The Emperor Alexander I. was the first who thought seriously of emancipation. Still, only the peasants of the three Baltic provinces were freed under his reign. The Emperor Nicholas entertained the idea during his whole reign, but nothing was actually accomplished.

At length the Emperor Alexander II. publicly declared to the deputies of the nobility, at the time of his coronation at Moscow, that the time had come for the accomplishment of the work of emancipation. It is better, said he, that it should come from above, without waiting for the idea to rise from below.

From that time the question of emancipation began to agitate every mind. Many projects were prepared by individuals and presented to the Government, which appointed a Committee *ad hoc* to examine them, and the general question of emancipation also.

Finally, the proprietors of three provinces (of Lithuania) asked of Government to be authorized to appoint a Committee whose duty it should be to prepare a bill for the emancipation of the serfs of these three provinces.

The Imperial Government, in granting this authorisation, thought it ought to indicate certain rules and establish certain principles to be considered in the conduct of the affair, appealing, at the same time, to the proprietors throughout the Empire, inviting them to proceed in the same manner to form Committees in each province, whose duty it should be to prepare plans for emancipation.

The rules and principles laid down by the Imperial Government may be summed up as follows:

*First.* The proprietors are to secure to the cultivators whatever land may be necessary for their subsistence and for the payment of their dues to both proprietor and Government.

*Second.* In consideration of this disposition of land, the peasants must pay rent to the proprietor either in money or in labour; both to be determined by the Committee in session in the Capital of the province.

*Third.* The cabin and the kitchen-garden of the peasant are to become his own property as soon as paid for, whether in money or in labour.

*Fourth.* The time necessary to complete the new order of things shall not be more than twelve years; and during this time the peasants shall be in a transition state.

*Fifth.* At the expiration of this term, the peasants shall have the right to leave the spot where they may be, and go and live where they choose. Thus, then, freedom will be definitely accomplished.

*Sixth.* Thereafter, half of all the seignorial lands are to be set apart for the use of the peasants, never to be reunited to the said seignorial estates.

Such is the Government basis of emancipation. The Committees charged with carrying it into effect may modify the means.

Nothing has yet been done by any of these Committees. We shall see whether they will accomplish this mission in the time appointed by Government, which is six months for the local committees and a year for the general ones.

You will not fail, Madam, to have remarked that the distinguishing feature of the reform undertaken by the Russian Government is that the Emperor has abandoned the initiation of the reform to the proprietors themselves. This has not been the method in other countries. Time will show whether the Russian proprietors will, as is so greatly to be desired, reply worthily to the call of the Emperor. But we believe that a great step has been made. The word emancipation has been pronounced. The peasants are waiting, but with calmness and patience. They are in a state of tranquillity. God grant that they may so remain till the hour of their complete liberation. One can but fervently hope it may be so. Heaven, having, in its mercy, inspired the great soul of the Emperor for this mighty work, will surely permit him to bring it to a happy termination. Think, dear Madam—you who have consecrated your life to the same end in your country—think of the vast amount of happiness and civilization that Alexander II. will, in so short a time, have bestowed on this land! Think of it, and bless him! Bid that worthy apostle of Freedom, Mr. Garrison, to love and bless him also.

Accept, madam, the expression of my high consideration and my devoted respect. N. TOURGUENEFF.

P. S. I find in *Le Nord* of this morning the discourse of the Governor of a Russian province at the opening session of a Committee of Emancipation. I send it, to give you an idea of the present state of the public mind in my country. It seems to me that it might be inserted in the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD. If it should be, I will not fail to send the number containing his discourse to the excellent Governor of Nijni-Novgorod; and I desire from the bottom of my heart that an echo from America may soon be heard in reply to Russia.

The following is the discourse delivered by M. Mouravieff, Military Governor of Nijni-Novgorod, at the opening session of the Committee appointed for freeing the Russian serfs, of which Monsieur de Tourgueneff speaks. It is a different and fuller translation than that which we published on the 1st. inst.

"Gentlemen: At the instance of Monsieur the Marshal of the Government Nobility, the Committee, called by the confidence of the sovereign to discuss the measures necessary for ameliorating the condition of the peasant-serfs on the estates of the Nobles, proceeds to-day, the nineteenth of February, to its labours. It has for this purpose made choice not of the day at first named, but of the anniversary of the accession to the throne of a monarch whose reign is the dawn of our country's regeneration. Could a happier day have been chosen for the opening of these discussions in an assembly on which reposes the hopes alike of the Sovereign and of twenty-five millions of people, to whom it is now the question to give those civil rights and that dignity of man of which they have hitherto been deprived?

"Gentlemen, feel and appreciate your mission. He who holds the hearts of kings in his hand has called you to fulfil a great work—to give liberty to those who have it not. Such being your mission, think of the grandeur of the part assigned you by Providence! be not unworthy of it. Prefer not your own material interests to the good of those millions of human beings that destiny has placed in your hands. Moral interests take the lead of material ones, and it is for you to prove it by your acts. I say moral interests. Yes, gentlemen, the solution of the question which now occupies us will surely elevate us to a loftier degree of moral civilization; it will increase the moral splendour and dignity of the class called to accomplish this great work by an abnegation grounded on conscience and the rights of man.

"Among those whose material interests we are to secure, there are doubtless some content with their present position, desiring no change. Glory and honour to those who own them—but their well-being is a mere chance. Now, gentlemen, you are called upon to replace chance by certainty, and to remove everything arbitrary by new methods of administration for a whole class of individuals.

"But this can never be accomplished where we see in man only a productive force like that of the animals. We shall never attain to it but by reviving, or rather restoring, the human dignity so nearly extinguished—by invoking the aid of free labour. Thus only can an intelligent and just appeal be made, freed from every arbitrary exaction, which shall awaken the living forces of the nation, and breathe life into all that seems dead to us to-day.

"Take, then, into all your calculations respect for the rights of man. Give to man what belongs to man, and you will justify the confidence of the Sovereign and the hope of the nation. I will say more: you will merit the admiration of the world, whose gaze is, at this moment, fixed upon you. Your task will assure you of the blessings of the Most High, and of the whole human race. History will rank you among the promoters of justice and love, and name you the founders of the prosperity of your native land."

## *THE TRAIL OF A CALUMNIATOR.*

WE copy this week, most reluctantly, and only from a sense of duty to the cause we serve, a letter from Mr. Frederick W. Chesson, of London, to the Carlisle (Eng.) *Examiner*, defending the American Anti-Slavery Society from the misrepresentations of its character and principles which, for some time past, have been industriously propagated in different parts of Great Britain by an unscrupulous agent and representative of the worst enemies of that Society on this side of the Atlantic. Mr. Chesson is entitled to the thanks of every friend of the Society for his manly and truthful vindication. The calumnies which he so effectually answers originate in the lying malignity of persons who have long been seeking to use the anti-slavery cause for the advancement of their own personal ends, and who, the better to accomplish their unhallowed purposes, affect a paramount regard for religion and make insidious appeals to sectarian prejudice.

The evidence most frequently and most effectually employed by these malignants, to show that the American Anti-Slavery is "infidel," is found in the religious opinions of its President, William Lloyd Garrison. Those opinions they distort and misrepresent in such a way as to excite the worst prejudices of orthodox people, and then adroitly seek to lead them to the false conclusion that the Society is responsible therefor, and, on that account, unworthy of public confidence. This slander is propagated, not openly and aboveboard, but through the channels of private intercourse, so that, when it comes to the surface, the hand of the prime calumniator is not revealed in a responsible shape. The instance alluded to by Mr. Chesson may be taken as an example. The calumniator goes to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and, in due time thereafter, the effect of her visit is seen, not in any public and responsible avowal of her own, but in the statements of a newspaper deriving its inspiration wholly from representations adroitly made by her in private. The editor, instigated thereto by the slanders which she sets afloat, informs his readers that the American Anti-Slavery Society is in the hands of "*a certain party of Abolitionists who openly proclaim that their hatred to slavery is only equalled by their detestation of the Christian faith,*" while the "movement" represented by the author of this monstrous falsehood is declared to be "*based on Christianity—a Christianity broad and catholic, but at the same time* THOROUGH *and* EVANGELICAL." The fate of the American Society is fixed, of course, in any community where representations of this sort are received for truth; and yet, you can no more hold the agent to her proper responsibility in the case than you can retain a live eel in your thumb and finger. And these representations *are* believed by many honest people, because, as the editor is careful to say, the agent "comes to us with the highest testimonials to her own worth and the goodness of the scheme of assistance she has to propound." The movement which her "scheme of assistance" is designed to help, and which, we are told, is "based upon a Christianity thorough and evangelical," is of course that of which the "American *Abolition* Society" is the organized representative. Now mark: the President of that Society is Gerrit Smith—a man whose religious views, as set forth, in his own words, in THE STANDARD of last week, are identical with those of Mr. Garrison. If the latter is an "infidel," so is the former; and if the American *Anti-Slavery* Society is an "infidel" association by virtue of the personal heresies of its President, it follows inevitably that the American *Abolition* Society is equally so on account of the same heresies held by *its* President. And yet, incredible as it may seem, the very agent for the propagation of the lying charge of "infidelity" against the American *Anti-Slavery* Society represents herself everywhere as on terms of intimacy with Mr. Smith, and even carries in her pocket a "testimonial" bearing his signature, commending her to the confidence of British Abolitionists! Now, to say nothing of the evidence herein presented of the utter hypocrisy involved in the pretence that the attacks upon the American Anti-Slavery Society are inspired by a righteous zeal for "evangelical" Christianity, we confess our inability to see how Mr. Smith can reconcile it to his sense of justice and self-respect to permit his name and influence to be used for a purpose so manifestly base. He knows that, although Mr. Garrison's religious views have been so long made a pretext for hostility to the Society over which he presides, they are not one whit more "infidel," in the estimation of the orthodox sects, than those which he has himself avowed in the discourse delivered by him in Peterboro, in February last. He no more sincerely believes that he is himself a Christian than he does that Mr. Garrison is another. If it is not in his power to stop the mouth of the libeller to whom we refer, he can at least, if so disposed, prevent her from any longer employing his name as an authority for her defamatory accusations. We should be sorry to believe that he lacks either the disposition or the courage to perform this act of simple justice to the American Anti-Slavery Society and its friends. He surely cannot weigh the fulsome laudation of himself, with which her published letters are so frequently interlarded, against the manifest dictates of honour and self-respect.

## TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING
### OF THE
## AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

*At Mozart Hall, New York City, Tuesday and Wednesday, May 11th and 12th, 1858.*

Phonographically Reported for THE STANDARD by J. M. W. Yerrinton.

IN accordance with a call heretofore published, the American Anti-Slavery Society celebrated its Twenty-fifth Anniversary at Mozart Hall, on Tuesday and Wednesday of this week.

The meetings commenced on Tuesday morning. There was a very good audience in attendance when the Society was called to order, at half past ten, by WM. LLOYD GARRISON, its President, and before the conclusion of the forenoon session, the hall was entirely filled.

The President, after calling the assembly to order, read selections from the Scriptures, as follows:

Hearken unto me, ye that know righteousness, the people in whose heart is my law: fear ye not the reproach of men, neither be ye afraid of their revilings. For the moth shall eat them up like a garment, and the worm shall eat them like wool. I, even I, am he that comforteth you. Who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die, and of the son of man that shall be made as grass; and forgettest the Lord thy Maker, that hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the foundations of the earth; and hast feared continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor? And where is the fury of the oppressor?

Thus saith the Lord God, My people went down aforetime into Egypt to sojourn there; and the Assyrian oppressed them without cause. Now, therefore, what have I here, saith the Lord, that my people are taken away for nought? They that rule over them make them to howl, saith the Lord; and my name continually every day is blasphemed.

Thus saith the Lord, Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken away, and the prey of the terrible shall be delivered; for I will contend with him that contendeth with thee, and I will save thy children. And I will feed them that oppress thee with their own flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own blood, as with sweet wine.

Wo to the rebellious children, saith the Lord, that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit, that they may add sin to sin: that walk to go down into Egypt, and have not asked at my mouth; to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt! Therefore shall the strength of Pharaoh be your shame, and your trust in the shadow of Egypt your confusion.

This is a rebellious people, lying children, children that will not hear the law of the Lord: which say to the seers, See not; and to the prophets, Prophesy not unto us right things, speak unto us smooth things, prophesy deceits, get you out of the way, turn aside out of the path, cause the Holy One of Israel to cease from before us. Wherefore thus saith the Holy One of Israel, Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon: therefore this iniquity shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant: and he shall break it as the breaking of the potter's vessel that is broken in pieces.

Thus saith the Lord, Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me, and their fear toward me is taught by the precept of men: therefore, behold, I will proceed to do a marvellous work and a wonder: for the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid. Wo unto them that seek deep to hide their counsel from the Lord, and their works are in the dark, and they say, Who seeth us? and who knoweth us? Surely your turning of things upside down shall be esteemed as the potter's clay.

Make a chain: for the land is full of bloody crimes, and the city is full of violence. Shall I not visit for these things? saith the Lord. Shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?

An opportunity being offered for vocal prayer, Rev. Mr. COLLYER, of Pa., came forward and offered a prayer to the God of the oppressed for his blessing on the deliberations of the Convention.

FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer of the Society, then read his Annual Report, as follows:

TREASURER'S ACCOUNT.

FRANCIS JACKSON, *Treasurer, in account with the American Anti-Slavery Society, from May, 1857, to May, 1858.*

| DR. | |
|---|---|
| Agency account | $6,673 42 |
| STANDARD account | 6 617 61 |
| Publication account | 537 95 |
| Expense account | 2 224 46 |
| Balance to new account | 2 459 04 |
| Total | $18,512 48 |

| CR. | |
|---|---|
| Balance to old account | $3.260 78 |
| STANDARD and Donation account | 15,199 89 |
| Publication account | 51 81 |
| Total | $18 512 48 |

To which may be added the Receipts of Auxiliary Societies in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and the West, according to their last Annual Reports, amounting to the sum of $17,354 76. Making the aggregate receipts of this Society and its Auxiliaries $35,967 24; and their Expenditures amounting to $32 942 11.

The report was laid on the table, for subsequent consideration.

The following letter to the Convention, from Hon. J. R. GIDDINGS, of Ohio, was then read by OLIVER JOHNSON, and received with hearty applause.

### LETTER FROM HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

WASHINGTON CITY, May 7, 1858.

DEAR GARRISON: Thanks for your note, kindly inviting me, on behalf of the Executive Committee, to address the American Anti-Slavery Society at its approaching anniversary. Official duties will not permit me to enjoy that pleasure. Indeed, my physical infirmities would seem to forbid any attempt at public speaking; but I assure you that age, with its attendant disabilities, brings with it a confirmed faith, and an increasing desire to fan the fires of liberty which burn in the popular mind, until the flame shall melt every chain, and consume every prejudice which now upholds American slavery.

From the stand-point which I occupy, our cause appears prosperous. Its progress in Congress keeps pace with its onward march in the country. Indeed, I think Congress reflects the popular mind very accurately. It is true that a majority of its members exhibit but little of that spirit which was manifested by our patriot fathers, who proclaimed the undying truths around which our expectations now cluster; but those who are conservative are progressing; and although they move slowly, yet every day brings them nearer to the faithful advocates of liberty. Indeed, since 1796, the representatives of the free States have never made such a demonstration in favour of liberty as they have during the present session of Congress; and although neither party has achieved a victory, the Slave Power, sustained by the Democratic party, has been *defeated.* The President had declared in his official message that "Kansas was as much a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina"; but Congress denied the flagrant falsehood, and entered upon the records of the nation its solemn verdict that the Executive was guilty of gross misrepresentation.

But, while pained with the President's avowal that "*Black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect,*" we are cheered and encouraged with the reflection that the Emperor of Russia recognises the right of every human being to live, to attain knowledge, to elevate his moral nature, and prepare for heaven; that he, with the Princes and Nobles of his Empire, is employed in the humane and generous work of securing the enjoyment of their rights to the humblest individuals under their jurisdiction, without distinction of colour or condition. Good men of the present and of coming generations will find no difficulty in deciding who are the real *despots* and who are the *true Democrats.* Holland, too, has been converted to the gospel of freedom. She has extended liberty to her West India possessions, and in nearly every civilized government of the earth philanthropists and statesmen are labouring to secure their fellow-men in the enjoyment of those inalienable prerogatives which God has bestowed upon mankind in all ages of the world and under all forms of government.

In view of existing facts, I suggest that suitable addresses on behalf of the philanthropists and lovers of liberty in these United States be transmitted to the Emperor of Russia and the government of Holland, tendering them respectful thanks for their sympathy and generous efforts in the cause of Christian civilization. I am aware that this act of justice should be performed by our government; but it is well known to the powers of Europe that its administration is wielded by men devoted to slavery; and it is believed that such an expression, emanating from the hearts of an intelligent and grateful people, will be quite as acceptable as it would be if expressed through the more formal mode of heartless diplomacy. Such addresses will evince to the world that American freemen appreciate the high dignity of our cause, that we approve the conduct of men who seek the moral elevation of our race, whether they wield the sceptre of political power or tread the paths of private life.

I would also suggest that the time has arrived for adopting measures looking to the union of those philanthropists who reside in different nations by the formation of societies devoted to the promotion of this great work. Let it be a fundamental rule that their energies and influence shall be directed to the awakening of the public mind among all nations to the acknowledgment and maintenance of the right of every human being to *live,* to attain knowledge, elevate his moral nature, and fulfil his mission to earth by preparing his way to Heaven. By an organized system of correspondence, the influence, the moral power of the Christian world may be thus concentrated and brought to bear upon governments and people; and this gospel of peace, of justice and of liberty may be preached to all nations.

Please accept for yourself and Committee, and express to the members of your Society, the assurance of my respect. Very faithfully, J. R. GIDDINGS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, President American Anti-Slavery Society.

On motion of Mr. JOHNSON, it was *voted,* That the letter be published in the proceedings of the Society.

The PRESIDENT then said—I find my name down in the programme for a speech this forenoon; but as I was requested to draw up a series of Resolutions to be presented to the Society for its consideration, as I have done so, and as the series is necessarily somewhat extended, I shall not undertake, this forenoon, to trespass upon the time of the meeting any longer than will suffice to read the resolutions—resolutions in which, by a sort of hydraulic pressure, I have endeavoured to concentrate my thoughts, feelings and ideas as pertaining to our struggle generally, and in regard to its particular aspects during the past year. If you will be so kind, therefore, as to give me your attention while I read the resolutions, I will not trespass on your time any longer, but give place to others.

Mr. GARRISON then presented the following series of resolutions, the reading of which was frequently interrupted by applause:

### RESOLUTIONS.

SLAVERY STRIKES AT ALL FREEDOM.

1. Resolved, That as no man can, in reason, show a better title to be a freeman than a slave at the South, so he who maintains the rectitude of slavery, in any instance, strikes a blow at the freedom of all mankind, and becomes an oppressor on a world-wide scale.

SLAVERY SELF-DEFINED.

2. Resolved, That chattel slavery is delineated in its whips and chains, its yokes and thumb-screws, its paddles and branding-irons, its drivers and bloodhounds, its scourgings and mutilations, its bloody persecutions and horrible cruelties, its abrogation of the marriage institution and enforced licentiousness, its atheistic assumptions of power above all that is called God, its devilish nature and accursed aim, its thronging perjuries and shocking blasphemies; and the steady growth and constant expansion of a system so frightful are demonstrative proof that to this nation most justly applies the description of the prophet, "Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood—judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off: for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter: and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey."

THE SOUTHERN MASK THROWN OFF.

Whereas the slaveholders of the South no longer plead exemption from criticism or condemnation, on the ground that slavery has been unfortunately entailed upon them, that they recognise its evils, that they design its gradual extinction, and only ask a reasonable extension of time to enable them to proclaim a general act of emancipation; but, instead of this, have boldly thrown off the mask of dissimulation, and now openly declare to the world that their bloody and polluted slave system is never to be abolished, but to be indefinitely extended and vigilantly guarded as right, just, humane and Christian, sanctioned by the Bible, and essential to the well-being of society—thus subverting all moral distinctions in the universe, affirming hell to be heaven, the dominion of Satan to be the government of God, and all conceivable crime and wickedness to be "the end of the law for righteousness"—therefore,

3. Resolved, That the day has gone by (if ever it existed), here at the North, to frame or to offer any apology in behalf of Southern slaveholders; but, having revealed themselves to be the enemies of freedom universally, merciless and profligate in spirit, desperate and heaven-defying in purpose, and bent on eternizing their terrible oppression, they are to be classed among the most dangerous and depraved of the human race, and treated accordingly.

THE ALTERNATIVE AS TO CHRISTIANITY.

4. Resolved, That if Christianity is, in its spirit and aim, hostile to the existence of slavery, then the religion of this country, which gives its sanction and protection to slavery, is not Christianity, but corrupt and apostate.

5. Resolved, That if Christianity is not inimical to slavery, then the millions who are groaning in bondage have nothing to hope, but everything to fear, from its prevalence; and though the earth should be filled with such a religion, it would still witness the triumph of despotism, and the oppression of the poor and needy.

6. Resolved, That while we believe, and have ever maintained, that between Christianity and slavery there is no more affinity than between Christ and Belial—and while we reject the pro-slavery interpretations of the Bible, by its recognised expounders, as false and wicked—still, the rights of man and the wants of human nature are neither originated by, nor dependent upon, any form of religion or any book; but it will forever remain a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

THE AMERICAN CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT.

7. Resolved, That we register our testimony against the American Church, the popular religion, and the Government of the United States—because, by their deliberate consent and active co-operation, four millions of our countrymen are held in the galling chains of bondage, whose emancipation is resisted by them with exceeding obduracy of spirit and malignity of purpose.

THE DRED SCOTT DECISION.

Whereas, by the 1st section of Article 4th of the Constitution of the United States, it is expressly declared, "The citizens of *each State* shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens *in the several States*"; therefore,

8. Resolved, That to deny that those who are native-born and personally free—whose blood has been freely poured out on every battle-field, from the earliest to the latest conflict in behalf of American liberty and independence—who are eligible to every office in the gift of the people—by whose suffrages, in common with all others entitled to vote, the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the government brought into existence and put in operation, every President elected from Washington to James Buchanan, and the Constitutions of many of the States ratified—who are found at the polls at every election, whether to vote for President, Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, members of the Legislature, or Representatives to Congress—of whom allegiance and taxation are as strictly exacted as of the white inhabitants, and who have never been found wanting in the performance of their obligations and duties, but have always shown themselves to be animated by the most patriotic feelings—to deny that such are, or can be, citizens of the United States, in accordance with the plain meaning of the Constitution, is to outrage the common sense of mankind, and most wickedly to pervert judgment, that the foundations of freedom may be destroyed. For whether is greater, the power which creates the government or the government which is created by it?

9. Resolved, therefore, That the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Dred Scott case, ought to be indignantly protested against, and resisted at all hazards, by every State in the Union that has any regard for its sovereignty or for the safety and liberty of its citizens.

THE TRAFFIC IN COOLIES.

10. Resolved, That the new traffic in Coolies is essentially the old traffic in Africans—as unscrupulous in its means and methods, as rapacious in its purposes, as murderous in its results, and as horrible and heart-rending in all its aspects, and should subject those engaged in it to equal infamy and punishment; and as both are now in active operation, to the shame of Europe and America, the friends of bleeding humanity throughout Christendom are solemnly summoned to renew the conflict with this accursed spirit of gain, and to combine in one common league to extirpate slavery and the slave trade from the earth.

AMERICA AND RUSSIA CONTRASTED.

11. Resolved, That, to every true friend of his country, an amazing and most humiliating contrast is presented, on the one hand, in the insane declaration, on American soil, that "the institution of slavery is as essential to the existence of a legitimate republic as are the laws of gravitation to the control of the natural elements," (!) and that "its destiny is to exist as long as civilization and self-government last," (!) and in the despotic attempt to extend it all over this continent, in accordance with this sentiment—and, on the other hand, in the determined efforts of the Russian Czar to secure the entire abolition of serfdom throughout his vast empire, as an act of justice and humanity, and for the honour and regeneration of Russia; thus confirming, in a most striking manner, the Scriptural prophecy, that "the first shall be last, and the last first."

ABOLITION OF RUSSIAN SERFDOM.

12. Resolved, That, in the spirit of the command to give "credit to whom credit" is due, we regard with high satisfaction and great admiration the praiseworthy and philanthropic course adopted by the Emperor of Russia, in this particular; because (in the words of M. Pauloff) "the glory and prosperity of Russia cannot rest upon institutions based on injustice and falsehood"; and because (in the words of M. Babst, the eminent Professor of Political Economy at the University of Moscow) "the wants of a great nation cannot be satisfied with the coarse conditions, contrary to all progress, of primitive economy founded on compulsory labour—a labour the limits of which are as restricted as its nature is unproductive."

THE KANSAS STRUGGLE.

13. Resolved, That the consummation of border ruffianism and lawless usurpation, in regard to Kansas, has been ignobly achieved by the present iniquitous National Administration, in forcing through Congress, by the most corrupt devices, the "bill of abominations" submitted by Mr. English for the admission of that Territory as a State into the Union, on conditions unheard of since the adoption of the Constitution, most insulting and utterly degrading in their nature, mingling bribery, intimidation and proscription, in equal proportions, and therefore to be indignantly spurned by the people of Kansas, at all hazards. Nevertheless,

14. Resolved, That "the vital and most detestable iniquity in this complicated and accumulated monstrosity of wrongs, this series of iniquities and oppressions upcoiling and inveterately convolved, is not the thing that has provoked and steadied the opposition" to the Lecompton Constitution, on the part of the Free State men in Kansas, and of their advocates in Congress; "this show of bravery has not the honour of a conscientious conflict against sin and injustice; it is not the establishment of slavery that troubles the conscience and stirs up the wrath, but the saddling of slavery upon the people *against their will*—not the inhumanity and sinfulness of the system, but the fraud against popular sovereignty in having the system chosen and appointed for the people, instead of being permitted to choose it or reject it for themselves—and this it is that almost explodes a volcano, almost breaks up a party, almost unsettles an Administration, deluges the country with floods of popular eloquence and indignation, occupies the Senate and House of Representatives for nearly six months in the manufacture of speeches, and keeps the whole country in a heat and tumult of pure disinterested patriotism!"

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

15. Resolved, That the party which concerns itself exclusively for the rights and interests of WHITE men and WHITE labour, and refuses to espouse "the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction," without regard to complexional distinctions, is a party destitute of principle, without consistency or moral efficiency, incapable of maintaining an uncompromising attitude, and wholly undeserving of respect or confidence. Hence, the only difference between the Democratic and Republican parties is one of degree, not of principle—of limitation as against boundless expansion—of latitude and longitude in opposition to universal propagandism and indiscriminate subjugation.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

Whereas, from the date of its organization to the present time, the American Tract Society has not only allowed the adulterous, inhuman, bloody and soul-debasing system of slavery to go unrebuked in any of its multitudinous publications, but has deliberately expurgated every tract and volume, published by it, of every word condemnatory of slaveholding, in order to propitiate the Southern oppressors and traffickers in human flesh, who "neither fear God nor regard man"—thus leaving four millions of imbruted men and women in the land to perish "like dumb driven cattle," even everlastingly, according to the Orthodox creed; and

Whereas, the small majority who have been asking for a change in the policy of the Society have manifestly shown that they seek peace rather than purity, the removal of a reproach from the Church rather than either her reformation or the freedom of the slave, by the following indications, namely:

By their entire silence on the subject until complaint was made by persons outside of the Church and the Society;

By the smallness of their original demand, namely, for the publication of tracts *about* slavery, instead of *against* slavery;

By their suffering the Committee of Investigation (according to the unimpeachable testimony of Dr. Hawes, of Hartford) to be "of the Publishing Committee's *selection* ALMOST ENTIRELY"—equivalent to letting the accused party pack the jury;

By their unanimous acceptance of a Report from that Committee, which was so ambiguous that the opposite party also unanimously accepted it, and so inefficient that the "management" have quoted it in defence of their old policy to the present day;

By their unanimous agreement that even the strong side, the *quasi*-reformatory side of this Report, should demand only some publication, by the Society, respecting "those moral duties which grow out of the existence of slavery, as well as those moral evils and vices which it is known to promote"—instead of branding slaveholding itself as sinful and anti-Christian;

By their demand that a tract *in favour* of slavery (now known as "the suppressed tract") should be published, and the characterization of this pro-slavery tract, by their representatives, as "a book of Christian counsel"—"of evangelical instruction"; and, finally,

By their wasting in silence, or in discursive and inefficient criticism, the precious twelve months that have now passed, instead of making vigorous efforts to arouse, combine and enlarge the protesting minority, to reform the Society, and to revolutionize the administration;

Therefore,

16 Resolved, That the solemn and startling accusation jointly and publicly made against the American Tract Society, in November last, by a number of "pastors and ministers of Congregational churches in Franklin and Lamoille Counties, Vermont," is thoroughly sustained by all the facts in the case, namely:

"As now conducted, it (the Society) has proved *unfaithful to its own Constitution; to the cause of humanity and of God; to the cause of truth and of evangelical religion.* By throwing itself, as it has done, as a shield between slavery and the public sentiment of Christendom, it has become the *enemy of liberty and the bulwark of oppression.* As thus conducted, it is *the corrupter of public laws and the principles of morality;* and by giving countenance to the notion that peace and joy in the Holy Ghost may and may exist without practical righteousness, it becomes *a mighty corrupter of the religion of the Gospel.*"

Hence, until the Society be placed in more trustworthy hands, and impelled in its publications to denounce slavery, under all circumstances, as at war with "the interests of vital godliness and sound morality," yea, as the "sum of all villanies," it ought not to receive the aid or countenance of any Church or any individual claiming to be virtuous, humane or Christian.

THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL.

17. Resolved, That the "revival of religion," which has swept over the country with contagious rapidity during the last three months, is manifestly delusive and spurious, exceptional cases to the contrary notwithstanding; because it has expressly excluded the millions in bondage from all consideration—has multiplied its converts as readily at the South as at the North—has excited no opposition in the midst of universal, all-abounding corruption and profligacy—has received the sanction and co-operation of the most pro-slavery divines and journals in the land—has operated (as it was evidently designed) to strengthen a Church which is "the bulwark of slavery," and to divert attention from the work of practical righteousness.

NO MORE SLAVE TRIALS.

Whereas, a central despotism exists at Washington, whose purpose is to uphold and extend slavery; and

Whereas, one of the readiest means to resist it is the machinery of the State Government; and

Whereas, according to all precedent before and since 1789, the acquiescence of the people, under any act of Government, gives to it the force and sanction of law; therefore,

18. Resolved, That we urge the Northern States to assume every attribute of unlimited sovereignty necessary for effectual resistance to the Slave Power; and, as a first step, to enact that no fugitive slave shall ever be surrendered from their limits, and no man shall, within their limits, be put on trial as to the question whether he is or ever has been a slave.

A DISHONOURABLE POSITION.

19. Resolved, That they who stand aloof from the Anti-Slavery enterprise occupy a position dishonourable to themselves, merciless towards the enslaved, well pleasing to the slaveholders, hostile to the general welfare, derogatory to the honour and fame of the Republic, and treasonable to the cause of freedom throughout the world.

The reading of the resolution with regard to the so-called "revival of religion" called forth some marks of disapprobation, which were answered by hearty applause on the part of a majority of the audience. Mr. EDGAR KETCHUM rose and said—"We cannot all agree in the sentiment of that Resolution. There are hundreds here who are"—(the conclusion of the sentence was lost in calls of "Order, order").

Mr. KETCHUM—Only one word. (Cries of "Hear him," "hear him.")

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman is out of order. It is only the opponents of the resolution who make this disturbance. Those who approbate the sentiment of the resolution have surely no need to occupy the time in giving their applause; for the snakes that are present are indicating the nature of this revival of religion sufficiently without any demonstration on their part (applause).

When the reading of the resolutions was finished, the President introduced CHARLES LENOX REMOND, of Salem, Mass.

### SPEECH OF C. L. REMOND.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I have listened to a series of resolutions every way important in their character, and involving many questions and considerations upon this great subject which must more or less interest all who are present; and congratulating, Mr. Chairman, as I do, yourself, and the members of this Society, and the friends of this cause, upon the numbers and character of this audience, I do not propose, at this time, and under the circumstances by which we are surrounded, to occupy but a very few moments of the time, in the hope that others that I see, both upon my right hand and upon my left, will take some part in the deliberations of this meeting.

Not long since, I happened to attend a public demonstration in Massachusetts, where I believe I chanced to be the only person of colour present. I did not expect, by any means, to be called upon to say a word, for the gathering was somewhat out of my line; and I cannot well understand why I was called upon to speak, unless it was to give *colour* to the occasion (laughter and applause). I am here this morning, Mr. Chairman, not only to give colour to this occasion—and a pretty deep one at that—but to give my most hearty approval of the resolutions to which we have listened (applause).

I have heard, sir, something of the present religious awakening, or "revival," in the resolutions, and something in the sentiment around us; but I have discovered also a revival of a custom which I had hoped had become obsolete in our country—that no matter what was said, or where said, we could scarcely expect to call forth a hiss. Hence, sir, in witnessing the "revival" of this particular American custom at this time, I am led to suppose that the work we have yet to do is greater than we had contemplated. But I propose to ask the attention of the audience for a few moments to that resolution of the series which looks to the overthrow of the American Government and of the American Union, in their present form, and character, and spirit.

I care but little, sir, about any other view of this subject at the present time, because, at the end of a quarter of a century, I discover that all efforts, of whatever kind, or in whatever spirit manifested, have proved complete failures, so far as the progress of the cause of universal liberty is concerned in our country, and the practical demonstration of genuine republicanism, to say nothing about the character of the religion of our country. Feeling, then, the pressure of this failure—that all attempts, from the old gradual Abolition Society, of which Benjamin Franklin was a member and an officer, down to the last phase of anti-slavery, have proved vain, and that in, or through, or over them all, American slavery has grown, and the number of its victims increased from one million to nearly four—of course, I have nothing to hope for in those directions; and having nothing to hope for in those directions, it seems to me that the only course left us to pursue is the one proposed by the Society with which I am happy to be identified. And so far from having my judgment swerved an iota, so far from having a single feeling or impulse changed by anything which has been said by professed or non-professed Abolitionists, in opposition to the proposition for a dissolution of the Union, I am, as I before remarked, more deeply strengthened and confirmed in the feasibility of the plan as it has been suggested.

I give, as my reasons, some facts which cannot have failed to come under the observation of all who are present, together with some historical facts which, perhaps, have not been so strikingly noticed as they deserve to be by every well-wisher of his country and the cause of universal freedom.

If, Mr. Chairman, I shall go back but fifty years, I shall mark—as every other man has done—where American slavery stood at that time, what part the leading men in our country were taking in it, where the press stood, where the pulpit stood, and where the public sentiment was to be found upon the subject. If I shall go back even no further than the time I have mentioned, I need not remain ignorant in regard to the sentiment which was then extant in the nation respecting this subject; and whether I take my stand upon the history of that day or at the present moment in the City of Washington, I am forced into a belief in the same truth, to-wit, that the American people are destitute of feeling, and destitute of principle, in regard to this question. The scenes which have transpired on the soil of Kansas, as well as those which have transpired in the American Congress, go to prove this, if the doctrines held by many Doctors of Divinity do not prove it.

Where, sir, are the coloured people of the United States?—and I refer to them only as an illustration: Where do they stand? Why, sir, so far as the masses of the American people are concerned, they have no place in their regard, they have no place in their esteem. And when I make this remark, I want to say that it applies strictly to every other man and every other woman in our country, be their complexions what they may, if they have a regard for the principles which underlie our glorious movement. Then, I repeat, that the friends of universal freedom in this country have no other hope for the emancipation of the slave, or for the rescue of the cause of liberty, but by the adoption of this plan, and that at the speediest moment.

In the District of Columbia, we know there exist a large number of laws, all for the purpose of recognising slavery. If they were confined to Washington, I should not have a word to say on this occasion; if they were confined to the State of Virginia, I might not; but when I am made to feel that the same class of laws does really exist, in spirit, in every State of this Union, I do insist, now as before, that our question or cause comes before and into the hands of every man within the limits of this and of every other State in the country, and as direct as it comes before and into the hands of every coloured man.

This, Mr. Chairman, leads me to remark that the question of anti-slavery and pro-slavery in the United States is not the black man's question; that the question of slavery and anti slavery is practically an American question—all the way American, from beginning to end—and especially with every *decent* American. It strikes me that if justice was done in this country upon this subject, we should have a class of criminals arraigned before the gaze of the world such as few of us have presumed to anticipate; and I long for the time when men shall be driven from their present hiding-places, in the excuses, in the concessions, in the compromises which they make, in the reasons which they are giving, from time to time, upon this subject. Dr. Cheever has very recently, in his allusion to scenes in Kansas, and to the conduct of American Congressmen, made the remark that this Kansas controversy has been carried on, from beginning to end, in reference to the white men in that Territory (as the resolution implies), and that the sin of American Slavery has not been touched.

Sir, I am glad that Dr. Cheever has so expressed himself—for many will believe the remark coming from that source who, it seems to me, have not cared to notice the same truth when uttered from this platform. All that I can make out of the last effort of Dr. Cheever is, that he adopts the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society, without identifying himself personally with our movement.

Now, what I want to call attention to is this: that men who have gone the entire round of social reforms, who have been conversant with everything written, published or spoken on this subject, have not felt themselves called upon until so recently to utter those truths which have been uttered by other voices so long, but have ignored them, so far as their presence at our meetings, their influence and their testimony are concerned.

One other remark in this connection. There are those who believe that that man is a good anti-slavery man who goes for freedom in Kansas, but does not recognise the existence of slavery in any of the slave States. I wish to take this opportunity to say that I ignore as heartily the sentiment or the feeling of any and of all men who, looking at this subject from such a stand-point, profess the slightest interest in the coloured men of this country. Our friend Mr. Garrison, in the resolutions he has read, has told us that, step by step, in everything that should entitle a man to his freedom, to citizenship, to the popular respect of a nation, in everything that should call forth the regard of a great and growing people, the coloured people have demonstrated their capabilities; and yet there are reformers in this nation, who go for the non-extension of slavery into Kansas, who look with allowance upon the existence of slavery in the nation. Sir, this is temporizing—this is fragmentary—this is selfish; it is local, and I abhor it. It is in close affinity with the spirit of the American party, which I equally abhor; and I earnestly hope that, if, during the series of meetings on which we have just entered, no other impression shall be made upon those who are present, they shall at least be forced to the conviction that the friends of this Society are in earnest, solemn earnest, in their purpose to dissolve the American Union and break into a thousand pieces the American Government, for the emancipation of the black men of this country, as the greatest and best means for the emancipation of the cowardly whites in the same nation (applause and hisses). I no longer limit my remarks to the black men when I speak of slaves in this nation; for if I should go south of Mason and Dixon's line to-morrow, I might, in my humble judgment, ransack society, day and night, and not be able to find a more veritable slave in the blackest bondman on the darkest Southern plantation than I hold the Hon. Edward Everett to be in every particular which constitutes true manhood (loud applause, mingled with hisses). Mr. Chairman, those who hiss in this audience pay me the highest possible compliment (laughter and applause). I remarked, when I rose,

that whether we search into the records of the past or look into the present, no man can fail to see that, as our country has grown in years, American slavery has grown in numbers, in cruelty, in everything calculated to degrade its victims, and outrage humanity at large; and when I bear in mind that into the American Union, since its formation, there have been some seven slave States admitted, and that in the Constitution of the State of Arkansas may be found a clause which declares that slavery shall never be abolished within its borders, I inquire whether the Union into which these States have been admitted, whether the Constitution that has recognised them, whether the Government that has endorsed them, are not, each and all of them, complete failures upon the great question of Republicanism, Democracy, and Liberty? I hold that they are; and that we want no stronger proof that our Union, and Government, and Constitution are failures than that one fact alone. But when I bear in mind that this Union, as now constituted, of and by some thirty-one or thirty-two States, is a slaveholding Union, that the District of Columbia, which should constitute the heart of the nation, is a slaveholding district, and that no man before me, whether black or white, as a man, can exercise any other rights there than the blackest slave may exercise, I say I have here another proof of the total failure of this Republic, under its present institutions. And when I bear in mind that black men may be burnt in one State, and white men may be shot down in another, for their love of freedom, I assert this Union to be a failure. And when I remember that, standing in Philadelphia, a few days ago, I saw a noble woman who obtained her freedom by allowing herself to be placed in a box scarcely larger than a coffin, and, secreted in that way, was brought from one of our Southern States into the State of Penn., the only breathing air she obtained coming through a small hole bored by a pair of scissors in her own hands, then I again declare, before God, that the American Union is a failure (applause). And when I pass from the city of Philadelphia, the residence of a Rush and a Franklin, and go to the Queen City of the West, and am there told by the counsel of another woman that a more heroic effort for freedom was never made by mortal man than that of Robert Garner and his wife to secure their liberty, and remember that they were dragged out of that city at noonday and hurried back to bondage, I again make the declaration, that the American Union is a failure. And then, when I go to Boston, in my own State of Massachusetts, and find such men as Edward Everett, Rufus Choate and Robert C. Winthrop as silent as a gravestone in regard to this question of slavery, I assert that to be even a stronger proof of the failure of this Union.

Sir, I might stand here and pile fact upon fact of the same character until they should be higher than this hall, but I will not detain the audience longer than simply to refer to one other fact (as I will call it) which has come under the notice of many very recently. It is this: I do not know that I need to ask this audience whether they consider me a man or not. I do not care what people consider me. I think the American people are coming to one conclusion, and that is, that whether they will the black people men or not, they are fast proving it in this nation; and the last and the best proof of it is—and this is the fact to which I am now about to call attention—that when the decision of Judge Taney was made, silence, generally speaking, characterized the nation. The blow, of course, was one struck at everything near and dear to us as a people, and the impression generally prevailed that the coloured people would hold meetings, from one end of the country to the other, to protest against that decision, thus signifying an anxiety on their part to know whether the doctrine there laid down was to be allowed or not. The significant fact to which I would call attention is, that no portion of the American people have evinced greater carelessness with regard to that decision than the coloured people themselves. I look upon this as a good sign, if we may at all go by contraries in this country; and if they would be as careless about many other decisions to which I might refer, I believe the day of their redemption would come to them sooner than it otherwise will. Now, I do not wish to be misunderstood in this particular, and perhaps I shall make my meaning clearer if I say, there are certain decisions which have been given by Judges in this country, there are certain acts which have been passed by certain Legislatures in this country, there have been some positions taken by the American Congress in regard to the coloured people, which I am glad to know that coloured persons are careless of; and I long for the time to come when the American slave shall be so careless of his master, south of Mason and Dixon's line, that he will wake up some morning and resolve to go about his business, as if there were not an oppressor in the wide world; and, if he shall be resisted in the step he shall then take, that he shall be ready to say to those who would enslave him, "I am a man! If you doubt it, we will measure arms. God and Freedom shall be my watch-word!" When that hour shall have come, the American people will be ready, if they are not now, to subscribe to the doctrine, at once and forever, "No Union with Slaveholders!" (Applause.)

The President then stated that he regretted to be obliged to state that the Rev. Theodore Parker, of Boston, whose name had been announced as one of the speakers for the evening meeting, was detained at home by ill-health.

Oliver Johnson then came forward and said: I am unwilling, Mr. President, that this audience should leave the hall with any misapprehension in regard to the reason which prevented our friend from speaking while the resolutions were being read. I know that gentleman well. I know him to be an earnest and sincere friend of our cause, although he may dissent from us on some points. He should understand that we do not claim this to be a free meeting in the sense that our subsequent meetings will be. It was set apart for speakers previously invited and announced, and not for general discussion. The resolutions will be open for general discussion at our subsequent meetings, when that friend and others who may have objections to them will have an opportunity to be heard, if they so desire (applause).

The President—Certainly. That is the only reason why I called the friend to order.

Wendell Phillips was next introduced and proceeded to address the audience in a speech which elicited frequent and hearty applause, and which, in connection with the other proceedings, we shall print next week.

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Presbyterian Anti-Slavery.—On the 25th and 26th of March last, a Convention of ministers and elders of the Associate Reformed, Associate, and Reformed Presbyterian Churches was held at Xenia, Ohio, for the purpose of considering the means necessary to promote a revival of religion. The subject of slavery was introduced, and although there was a sensitiveness on the part of some lest the topic should be made too prominent, the following passage was made a part of the Address to the Churches adopted by the Convention.

"The counsels of our nation have been distracted. Corruption reigns almost unrebuked in high places. The holy law of God has been scornfully placed below the law of man. Our liberties have been threatened by atrocious, and openly fraudulent attempts to impose the protection of slaveholding upon our free States, and to introduce this curse into our Territories, and that in defiance of the well known wishes of the people. And what is even to be deplored more than all these evils, though we feel them as evils we do not regard them, and deplore them as the judgments of God. Many who make profession of Christ's name are either silent respecting these things as tokens of God's displeasure, or take part with those who are doing what in them lies to bring down God's curse upon us. This is particularly true in regard to the oppression of the slave. And we can regard no revival as genuine which leaves the subject of it with the lash of the oppressor in his hand, and his bleeding victim at his feet. 'Therefore, thus saith the Lord: Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbour: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.' Jer. xxxiv. 17. In consideration of the alarming increase of this iniquity, and the desperate attempts made to extend it, the Convention, among other proceedings, directed the publication, in connection with this address, of the following resolution as expressive of the mind of the Convention:

"'Resolved, That in considering those sins which separate between us and our God, and justly shut up from our land the influences of his Spirit, this Convention feels called to utter its protest against the institution of American slavery as a crime against Christ, our country and humanity; and invite the coöperation of Christians of all denominations to labour and pray for its limitation and final extinction; and that God may pour out the spirit of repentance on those who directly, or by complicity in ecclesiastical or polititical relations, are involved in the fearful guilt of this sin; and, moreover, that God in pouring out his Spirit as floods upon the thirsty ground, would visit the 3,000,000 of his poor in our land, to whom the word of God is bound, hastening their emancipation, and enfranchisement with that liberty wherewith Christ maketh his people free.'

"Perhaps no evidence is more against us than the prevalence of a worldly spirit. This appears in the love and anxious pursuit of the riches of the world, conformity to its maxims and fashions, and lusting after its honours and pleasures. 'For the iniquity of his covetousness was I wroth and smote him; I hid me and was wroth, and he went on frowardly in the way of his heart.' Any sin, especially when persevered in in spite of reproof, will separate from God, and cause him to hide his face from us; but as no sin is more displeasing to God than covetousness, which is idolatry, or more likely to beset the people of God, so no one appears to be more prevalent in our country, or to call for more special notice. It is this sin which lies at the root of slavery, Sabbath-breaking, and most of the evils which abound. There is among us little of that spirit which would dispose us, not only in name, but in fact, to forsake all for Christ. This evil is not confined to men of the world or to the private members of the Church, but we fear that it prevails to some extent among the watchmen. Some of the evils named may characterize the world more than the Church; yet if the zeal and purity of the Church were what they should be, their iniquities would be ashamed and hide their heads."

Neither of the Churches represented in this body admits slaveholders to its communion, but they have not, as Churches, taken any earnest part in the anti-slavery cause. The action recorded above is an indication of progress on their part.

## *PRO-SLAVERY INFLUENCE OF THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.*

*To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

It appears by the letter of C. C. Burleigh, in last week's *Liberator*, that an Orthodox clergyman in Cummington has recently denied the facts stated in No. 19 of the Anti-Slavery Society's series of tracts, respecting the attempt made by the Senior Secretary of the Bible Society, in its official monthly publication, to turn the influence of that institution to the support of slavery. In consequence of a similar denial, made more than a year ago, in this State, I published the full evidence of my allegations in that tract, in *The Liberator* of February 27th, 1857. As the facts are important, and as many persons who need to know them have not seen the "Bible Society Record," that article is republished below.

Those who wish to procure the original documents, and read the words of the Rev. Secretary as they were first published, should be informed of an error of reference which he has made. In his letter in the April "Record," 1855, he speaks of the "excellent" pro-slavery address as having been published in the "February Record." No such thing will be found there, but it is in the *November* Record of 1853, covering nearly the whole of the first page, and headed "Important Document." The Secretary had evidently made a mistake in quoting from memory.

I will merely add, that no explanation has yet been made in reply to the question with which the subjoined article closes, nor is any to be expected. Individuals, entirely unauthorized to speak for the Society, will continue in private to deny the allegations made below, until they are put to silence by the evidence there produced. But the Secretaries and the Society remain silent. They have no idea of grieving the righteous souls of their ten Vice-Presidents from slaveholding States (all of whom are, *ex officio*, members of the Board of Managers), and of their one hundred and thirty Life Directors from slaveholding States, with any retraction of their published declaration that the Bible sustains slavery. They have no idea of interfering with the shrewd calculations of their numerous auxiliaries in the slaveholding States, who find the Bible Society at once more quiet and creditable, and more effective, than a Vigilance Committee, in the great work of keeping the slaves under. Until they are driven to speak by some such urgent persuasions as have recently been applied to their beloved brethren of the Tract Society, we shall hear no official reply to these charges. But, at present, whoever puts a dollar or a cent into the treasury of the Bible Society aids, to that extent, in the support of slavery. Charles K. Whipple.

## THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

We are informed that a clergyman, in a town in Massachusetts, recently denied, in public debate, the truth of the following statement, made on page six of Tract No. 19 of the series published for gratuitous distribution by the Anti-Slavery Society, entitled "Relations of Anti-Slavery to Religion":

"The American Bible Society, a great incorporated body, supported by and fairly representing all the sects which call themselves *Evangelical*, has circulated, in one of its official documents, an elaborate representation of the Bible as a pro-slavery book, characterizing the representation ('Bible Society Record,' November, 1854, and April, 1855), as an 'Important Document,' and an 'Excellent Address.'"

Since much of the evidence contained in the tract above-mentioned was condensed, by the desirableness of brevity, into the shortest space, we take this opportunity to state the *full* evidence in the case alluded to, for the benefit of the many who, in conversation or debate with clergymen upon slavery, are met by unscrupulous denials.

The *Bible Society Record*, published monthly in New York, is the official journal of the American Bible Society, and any of its numbers can be obtained at the Society's Depository in this city.

The number for November, 1854, contains extracts (editorially headed "Important Document") from an address delivered before the Abbeville Bible Society, at its anniversary, July, 1854, by Robert A. Fair, Esq., Abbeville, South Carolina, on the following topic: "Our slaves should have the Bible." One of the purposes of this address is to assert for the Bible a pro-slavery character and tendency; and among its statements to this effect, in the portion republished and endorsed by the Bible Society as an "Important Document," are the following:

"The fear to put the Bible into the hands of the slaves argues, in the first place, a want of confidence in the efficacy of its divine teachings." * * *

"It is strange that when the question is as to placing the Bible in the hands of the slave, we are inclined to ascribe to its teachings a reverse influence to that usually claimed for them." * *

"But to me, the strangest thing of all is the fact, that the very same Christians, followers of the meek and lowly Jesus, who invoke the prayers of the Church and of Christendom for men and means to put the Bible into the hands of the idolator, should invoke legislation, and use the strong arm of the law, to wrest it from their own slaves, members of their own family, nurses of their own children.

"Does the feature of slavery justify the distinction made, or destroy the palpable antagonism in the reasoning? If the teaching of Holy Writ were at war with the institution of slavery, and we were struggling to maintain it in opposition to those teachings, . . we might be disposed to yield the point. But how stands the case? Why, that the teachings of the Bible are not only *not unfriendly* to the institution of slavery, but that it is in them the institution is most amply recognised; it is upon them that we triumphantly rest *its defence*."

Further on, the author of this Address represents that putting the Bible into the hands of the slave will fortify slavery "to such an extent as to put the *stability of the institution* beyond the possibility of cavil, or of a doubt—as to make it *perfectly impregnable*."

Again, he says—

"There is a prevailing ignorance upon the subject of slavery, on the part of both master and servant, by no means congenial to the *health of the institution*. We would not be startled at the announcement of the fact that two-thirds of the slave population did not know or believe that the subject of slavery, or their condition, was ever alluded to in the Bible; that two-thirds of them are in utter ignorance of the *authority by which we essay to hold them in bondage*, or *demand* at their hands obedience and service. To such, how galling is the yoke, how bitter the bondage! Nor would we be startled by the announcement of the fact that many masters were ignorant of a Scriptural view of the subject—of the true grounds upon which to place the institution, and of their duties as masters—which ignorance betrays them into many errors and abuses, *the tendency of which is to undermine the institution*. Now, relieve the minds of both parties of this darkness and ignorance, and thoroughly educate and indoctrinate them into clear, sound, intelligent, Scriptural views of the whole subject, and *of what an immense weight will the institution be relieved!*"

Now, the whole of this villanous representation, first, that the Bible sustains slavery, and, next, that its circulation among the slaves is desirable for the very purpose of fortifying slavery, promoting its stability, and making it perfectly impregnable, is fully endorsed by the American Bible Society, by their publication of it in their official organ as an "important document." But this is not all.

In the *Bible Society Record* for April, 1855, appears a letter from the Senior Secretary (Rev. J. C. Brigham) to his colleagues, dated "St. Augustine, Florida, Feb. 28th, 1855," in which occurs the following passage:

"This subject of furnishing the Bible to slaves is one of vast importance, and will, I trust, receive more of the attention of our *Southern* auxiliaries than heretofore. I find that the excellent address *recently delivered in South Carolina on this subject, and reprinted in part in our Record*, has been widely read, and, so far as I have learned, meets the approval of the *Christian* community."

Thus this second endorsement by the Bible Society of a pro-slavery address (representing the Bible as a pro-slavery book, and urging its circulation *for the purpose* of fortifying slavery) vouches for it not merely as *important*, but as excellent.

Now let us glance at the position *previously* held by the American Bible Society towards the American slave.

Twenty-seven years ago, on motion of Rev. Dr. Milnor, seconded by Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, it was "Resolved, That this Society, with humble reliance on Divine aid, will endeavour to supply all the destitute families in the United States with the Holy Scriptures, that may be willing to purchase or receive them, within the space of two years."

An official publication of the Bible Society, recently issued, states the result of that resolution as follows: "By the blessing of God, in the course of that time, every accessible family in the more settled portions of our country *was visited and supplied with the Bible.*" And the agents of the Society, in this country and abroad, reported, entirely without qualification, the gratifying intelligence that *every family* in the United States had now been supplied with the Bible. This intelligence was received with peculiar satisfaction by British Christians. But they afterwards learned that the slave population had been entirely neglected in this distribution.

Twenty-two years ago, at an Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York city, May 6th, 1834, it was voted to offer five thousand dollars to the American Bible Society, on condition that they would supply every coloured family in the United States with a Bible. A committee of eight persons, Rev. Cyrus P. Grosvenor chairman, was appointed to make this offer, and made it the same day, and the Bible Society declined to accept it.

At the Annual Meeting of the succeeding year, May 12th, 1835, the following preamble and resolution, *renewing the offer*, were passed:

"Whereas the American Bible Society regards itself as unable *directly* to offer the Holy Scriptures to our enslaved brethren; therefore,

"Resolved, That we earnestly entreat that Society to *request its auxiliaries to see to it* that every coloured family in the United States be furnished with a copy of the Bible, and renewedly extend to that institution the offer of five thousand dollars towards the effort."

A committee of seven persons, Lewis Tappan chairman, was appointed to communicate this offer. They did so and the Bible Society *again declined to accept it.*

A letter in the Wilmington (N. C.) *Press* (dated Oct. 7th, 1835, and signed Th. P. Hunt) states *exultingly* in relation to this offer, "The Society resolved to have nothing to do with it." And, in reference to a report that they had accepted it, Mr. Hunt says—"The Bible Society published, some time since, a denial of the report, in Duff Green's paper."

This, then, appears to be the history of the Bible Society's relation to the slaves:

1. They utterly neglected and ignored their destitution of the Scriptures, both as families and individuals.
2. When requested from without, by persons desirous of promoting the interests of the slave, to supply the slaves equally with others, being at the same time offered five thousand dollars towards the expense of the undertaking, they utterly refused, and afterwards took pains to repel the rumoured imputation of having consented.
3. When they found a proposition for such distribution originating among slaveholders, published for the very purpose of securing their domination *as* slaveholders, and recommended as the most thorough means of keeping the slaves in permanent subjection—without any special request or offer of funds, they echo the proposition, republish it with its array of pro-slavery arguments in their official organ, and characterize it as an important document and an excellent address, and as meeting the approval of the *Christian* community.

Now, will any friend of the Bible Society tell us why, after having first neglected and then refused to distribute Bibles among the slaves for the benefit of the slaves, they favour and recommend such distribution when it is desired for the benefit of the masters, and assumed to be favourable to the perpetuity of their power as slaveholders? Does the Rev. Senior Secretary (J. C. Brigham, D.D.) and do the Hon. and Rev. Managers of the Bible Society really prefer that slavery should be fortified and perpetuated? We pause for a reply.—C. K. W.

## *THE TWENTY-FIFTH*
## NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION FESTIVAL.

The undersigned, who have, for so many years, done what they could to promote the Anti-Slavery Cause, financially and otherwise, through the medium of the American Anti-Slavery Society, will, as usual, hold their (twenty-fifth) Anniversary at the close of the year, with the same purpose of still further strengthening the beneficial influences of that Society, moral, religious and political, for the extinction of slavery.

At the beginning, before the principles of the cause were understood, we could not, with the slightest hope of success, ask of the public, whose affair it is no less than our own, direct contributions of money. We therefore devised an Annual Bazaar for the sale of contributions of articles; and it afforded an opportunity of great usefulness, both financial and social, to the cause.

But the changed state of the public mind now suggests greater directness in the method and increase in the usefulness of this anniversary; and we propose, this year, to give our usual sums and take up our accustomed collections by direct cash subscription; and we entreat the friends, both at home and abroad, who have been wont to coöperate with us, to do the same, nothing doubting the result will much exceed the sum ($3,000) raised last year.

To our Southern friends we present this prospect with increased hope of their coöperation in consequence. For, as none better than they know what slavery and the daily increasing risks of its tenure are, so none have a deeper concern in seeking the most effectual means of putting an end to this common sin and suffering of our native land.

The money we have annually raised has been hitherto employed to sustain the National Anti-Slavery Standard, the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society. But, following the recent indication of the Executive Committee, in making individual efforts to place that paper on a self-supporting subscription basis, we shall enable them to devote the result of our *joint* financial effort to sustain eloquent and faithful lecturers, now so much needed, and in far greater numbers than heretofore.

By this plan we may accomplish double the amount of service to our cause, and thus furnish its friends and our own with a two-fold motive to continue and increase their contributions.

No words from us at this late day are needed to stimulate a *prudent* generosity by description of all the means that go to change the mind and the heart of a great nation on the central question of its policy; or to kindle a *sublime* one by commendation of a cause identified with every thought that is ennobling and holy, with every hope that is august and magnificent, with every memory that is precious and sainted, with every idea that is consoling and beautiful, with every effort that is enlightening and beneficent, with every association that history, or poetry, or patriotism, or philanthropy, or Christianity, or life or death, have sanctified and blessed.

We cordially and respectfully invite the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, *the world over*, to meet with us at the close of the year (time and place named hereafter), to receive our subscriptions, our good wishes and our thanks; and to unite with us on an occasion which, as the end of one quarter of a century of labours and the beginning of another, will be of no ordinary commemorative interest and prospective significance to the Cause.

| | |
|---|---|
| Maria Weston Chapman, | Lydia D. Parker, |
| Mary May, | Eliza F. Eddy, |
| Louisa Loring, | Abby Francis, |
| Eliza Lee Follen, | Sarah Russell May, |
| L. Maria Child, | Abby Kelley Foster, |
| Henrietta Sargent, | Sarah H. Southwick, |
| Anne Warren Weston, | Evelina A. S. Smith, |
| Mary Gray Chapman, | Ann Rebecca Bramhall, |
| Helen E. Garrison, | Augusta G. King, |
| Sarah Shaw Russell, | Elizabeth Von Armin, |
| Frances Mary Robbins, | Anna Shaw Greene, |
| Caroline Weston, | Eliza H. Apthorp, |
| Mary Willey, | Mattie Griffith, |
| Sarah Blake Shaw, | A. T. Sargent, |
| Susan C. Cabot, | Anne Langdon Alger. |

## *A WORD FROM AN ENGLISH CLERGYMAN.*

Westgate Common, Wakefield, England,
April 20, 1858.

*To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

Sir: With reference to an article in your paper of Nov. 18, I think it right to mention that I have seen a statement in the *Literary Churchman* and in other London religious newspapers, from very good authority, that the alteration of the *Christus Consolator* was made as a matter of private speculation, without the knowledge of any of the dignitaries of the American Episcopal Church. It is certain that unmutilated copies of that somewhat overestimated picture, on a larger scale, are frequent in the Southern States.

I don't know whether the private recommendation of an edition of the Prayer-Book by one Bishop extends to its frontispiece (judging by cis-Atlantic practice, I should say *not*); and I believe no illustrated edition of either Bible or Prayer-Book is at all formally sanctioned by the General Convention (or National Synod) of the American Episcopal Church.

I think that, with Paley, you may trust to Christianity to break the yoke of the negro, as it has broken that of the European serf. God, who hath Eternity to work in, has Eternity also wherein to recompense those who meantime suffer. This trust does not *supersede* our exertions, but, on the contrary, *stimulates* them, while it also *regulates* them (Philip 2: 13).

It may interest your readers to know that Andrew Edward, of Stonehaven, Kincardinshire, who addressed the singular letter to Mrs. Stowe which is given in the Aberdeen portion of her "Sunny Memories" was, and I suppose is, a bookbinder by trade, and Librarian of the Literary Institution of the Borough. Having had to bind some books, which contained an interesting account of Westminster Abbey, he resolved to go and see that remarkable edifice, and, after returning the book to the owner, walked to Aberdeen, worked his passage up to London in a coaster, went and saw Westminster Abbey, and, without caring for any of the other sights of London, returned home in the same manner. It is curious that Mrs. Stowe was not informed that previous to about 1720 or 1730 the coal-miners in Scotland were serfs of the glebe. The system was abolished not in consequence of any complaints on the part of the miners, but on account of the expressed reluctance of English border magistrates to enforce the law against the few exceptional refugees, principally girls. The miners at the time complained that their bread was taken out of their mouths, and entered into voluntary contracts of apprenticeship to remedy the supposed wrong. Their indentures were, however, in a few years, cancelled, by mutual consent, the masters agreeing to continue to maintain the aged colliers then entitled to such assistance, and the free workers to support their own relatives who should afterwards become unable to work (I should say that the Scotch lairds did not *use their neighbours' service without wages*; the labourers were always well *paid* and almost always in *money*, besides free houses). It is a fine illustration of the progressive advancement of a free people that the grandchildren of the same persons who considered themselves ill-used by being set free thankfully accepted *their pecuniary loss*, Lord Ashley's Act, prohibiting their daughters from voluntarily performing those services which their mothers had been taught to think it no hardship to be *compelled* to perform.

As a clergyman of the Church of England and the son of an early and staunch Abolitionist, I trust these remarks may not be considered intrusive. Allow me, through you, to thank the sender of Mr. Whipple's pamphlet on the indirect moral view of the question, with reference to the VIIth Commandment. It is very important, and, though scarcely adapted for indiscriminate perusal, may be of great use in opening the eyes of ministers of Christ; yet it would be *more useful* if the arguments were urged with greater charity. C. T. E.

## From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CCXXVIII.

The Argument.—The Correspondent expoundeth the Philosophy of Newspaper Correspondence—He passeth to May Day and commendeth its behaviour—He vindicateth the Majesty of the Law—Where he spent the day and how—Of the tree-planting in Dedham—Who presided—The Correspondent affordeth him high praise—Base jealousy and rivalship in East Walpole—Who stirred it up—The Correspondent expresseth his disgust thereat—He maketh a transition to the literary piracy committed on Mr Byles—And by whom done and by whom exposed—He rebuketh the Presidential and Episcopal accessories to this larceny—He speculateth as to their motives—The character of the Rejected Tract—He is indignant and exclamatory—He commendeth Uncle Sam for taking Judge Loring into his service—He mourneth over Mr. Everett's fresh attack of the Yeadon—He is Nosological and concludeth, &c., &c., &c.

Boston, May 8, 1858.

I suppose I must send you something this week, inasmuch as I let the last pass me without my usual epistle. This was mainly because I had nothing to tell of, though not entirely, as that is a paltry reason for any newspaper correspondent to give for his silence. What would all the newspapers of the world do for their correspondence, "obtained without regard to expense," if the artificers who supply the same only wrote when they had something to say? Besides this, I had other reasons which, being none of your business, I shall pretermit in silence, and see what I can cook up for you this time.

Let me see! O yes, there has been May Day since then. This day has now become fairly enrolled among the small number of holidays on our kalendar; and if it would only always comport itself as well as this last one did, it would be indeed worthy of being marked with a Red Letter. It was a real charming day, which might answer to the descriptions of the poets and to its traditional ideas. Business, if not suspended, was apparently very slack all over the city, and the streets and the Common were filled with holiday pleasure-seekers, and especially with little children. Formerly, there used to be a Floral Procession of children, under the direction of the Rev. Charles Barnard, of the Warren street Chapel, after which the children sold boquets for the benefit of the charity. It was a very pretty spectacle; and if the weather could always have been as fine as it was this year, it would probably have grown a permanent institution. But the chances of such luck being much fewer than of east winds and rain, and perhaps of snow-flakes instead of snow-drops, the procession was given up, and the Maypole erected in the Music Hall, a much more wiselike place in our climate, and there the children dance and amuse themselves, with a good band of music and everything conformable. The public is admitted for a quarter of a dollar, to look on from the galleries, towards the funds, and the sight is well worth the money. I believe the celebration of May Day is still contrary to statutes, yet unrepealed, which the Puritan founders of New England launched against that remnant of Paganism and rag of Popery. But, notwithstanding the sound doctrine, of which we heard so much in the glorious days of the Compromises of 1850, that "Law must be obeyed while it is Law," I have not heard of any demonstration on the part of any of our law-abiding citizens to enforce the penalties of this statute.

I spent a portion of the day, by special invitation, at the town of Dedham, best known to the remoter world as the birth-place of Fisher Ames, and the abiding place of your late Corresponding Editor. The celebration there was of a somewhat peculiar character, consisting of an organized operation for the planting of trees along the streets of the town. There was a general turn out, and in a short time fifty thriving elms were set up in business, and, it is to be hoped, established for life. The work done, there was a Collation held in the large hall used for the Agricultural celebrations, and it went off in a very jolly and lively manner. The distinguished gentleman to whom I have just alluded (I mean the latter of the two) presided, and, though I cannot affirm that he came up to my highest ideal of the performance of such a function, I must do him the justice to say that I could not have discharged it better myself. It was altogether a very successful and pleasant affair, and it would be no harm if it were generally adopted as the common way of spending the day. Indeed, there was an attempt to rival this success in the adjoining village of East Walpole, as I learn from a communication in *The Traveller*, evidently written by a gentleman formerly prominent in the Free Soil and Republican parties, but who latterly has fallen away to Disunionism. I recollect telling you of the signal example which was made of him a few years ago by the General Government, he being dismissed from the office of Postmaster of that important place, which was worth to him, possibly, as much as fifty dollars a year, as a terror to evil doers. Unfortunately for the ends of public justice, the sentence could not be carried into effect for a long time, because nobody willing and competent to furnish the requisite bonds could be found in the town. I am not sure that it has ever been. However that may be, this person stirred up his neighbours to rivalship with Dedham, and actually had the assurance to set out *seven hundred* trees. But there is something revolting to a refined taste in this coarse abundance. So gross a number is nothing less than vulgar and disgusting. It was certainly "*running the thing into the ground.*" Fifty trees is exactly the right number.

Have you seen the *exposé* of the villany in the matter of what is called the "Suppressed Tract," on the Family Relation as affected by Slavery? It bears, as you know, the name of Charles K. Whipple, and is the one to which the prize of $200, offered by a Glasgow merchant, was awarded by a committee consisting of President Wayland and Bishop Clark of Rhode Island, Mr. Charles Stoddard of Boston, and the Rev. Dr. Thompson of Glasgow. Now, do you know that it has been discovered that it was *not* written by Mr. Charles K. Whipple, at all? I have lately received a newspaper published in your city, called *The Christian Intelligencer*, edited by the Rev. Elbert S. Porter. It is my misfortune never to have heard of this reverend gentleman or of his organ, and do not gather to which of the Evangelical sects it belongs. But it is obviously of that most conservative type of piety, which delicately shrinks from the ill-breeding of obtruding negroes on the Divine notice. As the paper is *The Christian Intelligencer*, of course the Rev. Elbert S. Porter is at once intelligent and a Christian, and it is out of the nature of things that he *can* tell a lie. There can be no question, then, that he knows whereof he affirms when he says that the tract in question was written, not by Mr. Whipple, whose name it bears, but by a Mr. Byles, who, it seems, is a correspondent of *The New York Tribune*, in this city. Now as to who or what this Mr. Byles may be, I know no more than you do, and care as little; but I should like to know by what right or pretence this Mr. Whipple has stolen his literary offspring and put his own ear-mark upon it? It is one of the most flagrantly impudent cases of literary larceny that have occurred since Shakspeare Ireland's time.

And I should like to know, too, what President Wayland and the Rt. Reverend Dr. Clark, to say nothing of Mr. Stoddard and Dr. Thompson, have to say for themselves, as to their share in this iniquity. What motives could Mr. Whipple have brought to bear upon their minds to induce them to become his accomplices in this felonious conveyance of the property of Mr. Byles into his possession? There must have been collusion between them. Is it possible that he could have bribed them by dividing the prize-money with them? It must have been so? Nothing but a share of the booty could have seduced persons of their previous respectability of character to be partakers in a crime of this moment. And the theft is not the worst part of it. The Rev. Mr. Porter, of whose Christian intelligence there can be no question, goes on to affirm that "the Rejected Tract is filthy and impure, and wholly unfit to be placed in the hands or under the eyes of people who have any proper sense of moral purity and decency." There is a charge, indeed, which nothing but the weight of character of its author could prevail upon me to belive. The Rev. Dr. Wayland, long President of Brown University, and the Head of the Baptist Denomination, the Right Rev. Prelate who presides over the diocese of Rhode Island, a Boston deacon and a Glasgow divine conspire together to palm off upon the Tract Society, and obtain its *imprimatur* for an obscene work, one too impure and filthy for decent hands to touch or pure eyes to look upon! This is, indeed, worse than filching Mr. Byles's good name and giving it to Mr. Whipple, and even than their sitting down and dividing his lawful two hundred dollars among themselves. The world's people in England were astonished the other day, if Mr. Punch is to be believed, at reading in your papers that the late lamented Paudeen had his nose bit off by Mike Murray, now Alderman of the First Ward; but what will the religious world there say when they learn that these leaders of American Religion have thus been accessory before the fact, to the uttering of an indecent publication? Is there no law in New York? Why does Blackwell's Island exist, if atrocities such as these can go unwhipped of Justice? O for one hour of Fernando Wood!

We are extremely well content here at Commissioner Loring's promotion at Washington. We had no personal malice against him; and though we could not suffer him to eat the bread of the children of Massachusetts, we were perfectly willing, after we had kicked him out of doors, that he should eat any quantity of the crumbs that fall from Uncle Sam's table. It is eminently suitable that our discarded serving-men should be taken into his parlour. We never wanted the poor creature to starve, you know.

Poor dear Mr. Everett! And so he has had a third access of the Yeadon! It is no wonder that he gave out and came North. He had much better have had the *Yaws*. No constitution could stand a succession of such dreadful shocks. I remember the editor of *The Boston Atlas*, whose pastoral relations were afterwards transferred to the position of colleague in *The Tribune*, which he still holds, said that Yeadon was popularly known as Dirty Dick. I don't know what the origin of this appellation may have been, never having seen a case of the disease. But Yellow Jack, as the sailors call the yellow fever, cannot be a circumstance to the Dirty Dick, if this be a specimen of its virulence and its pertinacity of recurrence. But I cannot pursue this pathological line any longer, as it would take a volume to do justice to this new department in Nosology. D. Y.

## *NEW PUBLICATIONS.*

Tracts for To day. By M. D. Conway, Minister of the First Congregational Church, Cincinnati, Ohio. Pp. 303. Cincinnati: Truman & Spofford. New York: C. S. Francis & Co.

These "tracts"—seventeen in number—are so many sermons, the appearance of which in print is explained in the following prefatory letter, addressed by the author to a minister of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church:

"Dear Friend: Your letter is one of the many of a similar kind, received not only from members of our dear old Conference, but from those who were classmates at Carlisle, members of my circuits, or friends of myself and relatives in Virginia. 'Why I have left my old associations and communion,' were indeed a question requiring a long answer. But since it is asked by all my friends (and they have every right to ask it), I have been thinking how I could follow out your suggestion and publish an answer. I have concluded to put forth a small collection of discourses, such as have occurred in my regular ministrations. For it is in these that a preacher's heart and life get best garnered after all. I am not of that school who have one set of thoughts for the study, another for the pulpit: I can only preach what is the last result of my own mind. Therefore, though I could wish that the urgency of a city parish allowed more time for completeness and elegance, these thoughts are my real self, and as such are, to me, sacred. From such statements it is easy to trace the threads running back to all I have left—for an apple preserves the mark of the blossom which bore it.

"M. D. C."

Mr. Conway, it will be seen, began his ministerial life as a Methodist. He is now what may be called an extreme Unitarian. He gives us, however, in these discourses, no dry and formal statements of doctrine, but living thoughts on practical subjects. His words glow and burn like coals of fire, illuminating every topic on which he speaks, and stirring the soul to high resolve and noble achievement. Those even who dissent from his creed, as inadequate or erroneous, cannot fail to be impressed by his earnest spirit, his intense love of truth, his devotion to humanity, and the manly frankness with which he utters his convictions. He dwells not so much upon special topics of reform as upon the principles which underlie and the motives which inspire them all. One of the discourses in the volume, however, is upon slavery; it is the one that he preached in Washington in the winter of 1856, and which afterwards appeared in these columns. There are frequent allusions to the subject also in other discourses. One—the last in the volume, and entitled "Man"—appears to have been preached immediately after a company of fugitive slaves had been arrested in Cincinnati and consigned to bondage, by a tyranical and unprincipled Judge. How striking is this passage:

"Reverence for what is beneath us never rises to its sacred summit until it is called for by our relation toward the weak, poor and ignorant. * * Our civilization shows the old savage instinct when it turns from the drunkard or the harlot; when it justifies or ignores the enslavement of millions because they are of an inferior race, that being the truest seal to their claim on our help and protection. In the first age men will eat each other. In the next this ceases, but they will slay and rob each other. The next will abolish this, but replace it with war and slavery. We await the age which shall cease these also, and realize the full sadness of the fact, that this poor humanity, so despised, maltreated, slain, enslaved from age to age, is God's own heart; shall see in each who is wronged the bleeding Christ, and hear him say again, 'What ye have done to the least of these my brothers, ye have done to me?'

"The least of these his brothers! Can it be that each man we see, of whatever degree or complexion, has in him that immortal flame which certifies his brotherhood to the Son of God? Has each the wondrous soul that is little lower than the angels!

"O, my poor bleeding Christ, I cannot hide from thee! Thou meetest me on the street each day of my life, meekly baring thy five red wounds in those, the least of whom cannot be wounded but thou art wounded. There in the hovels are the children, growing up in ignorance and vice, whom our free and Christian State decides shall not go to our schools because they are not white. Ah, how plainly I saw—each little hand had the mark of a bloody nail in the centre! This week I met thee again. Against all law, and all right, three helpless ones were sent away into bondage—two of them infants, not dreaming of the fearful fate awaiting—by a thing called a Judge; our miserable, venal press, with one exception, applauding; and the community going on heedless of a wrong which, in our midst, crucified our Lord afresh?

"My friends, I ask no pardon for speaking of these things here. Rather pardon us, thou spirit of humanity, that we go on in our apathy and self-seeking; and, seeing thee there, fallen among thieves, who have left thee wounded and stripped of all thou hadst, have passed by on the other side! But if we have forgotten those who are weak and wronged, God has not; and their cry shall pierce where the saintly prayer which forgets them shall fail to enter. Whoso touches one of those little ones, touches God's heart; whoso forgets them and their claim, hath forgotten their Infinite Father. Better were it for that man that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the sea. God is as mindful as you, ye mothers, of his children, made in his image. 'Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? Yea, she may forget; yet will I not forget thee.'

"The present organization of society cannot last; the world is even now budding in every branch and twig with revolution. And why? Because the world is organized on the basis of *contempt for man*. O ye lords! O ye ladies! Your East Indian delicacies are rich and rare. Feast, adorn yourselves, be merry! What elegant forms Indian sinews assume as they reach you—golden, superb! Let the swarthy fellows work on! What affair is it of yours if India is a galley-slave, her fair land a brothel for your fine East India Company! Hark! What cry is that? Why do you turn pale?

"'Suddenly out of its stale and drowsy lair, the lair of slaves,
Like lightning Delhi leaps forth—half startled
At itself; its feet upon the ashes and the rags;
Its hands tight to the throat of tyrants.'

"What means this crash of trade? It means that man is trifling with man. It means that in Wall street, in State street, men are gambling with the coined heart's-blood and sinews of labour; gambling where the very bread of the widow and the orphan is the stake. Trade, too, it would seem, is based on the contempt of man; men looking on others much in the light of sheep, valuable chiefly on account of their susceptibility of being fleeced.

"I say again, that the present organization of society is on a foundation of sand, and cannot last.

"And for all the dreary catalogue of crimes against man, not any one man, or country, or section is to be arraigned. More than any other, I take shame in saying it, the so-called Church of Christ on earth is to be arraigned. Has it not trained men from their infancy to despise and detest their own nature? Has it not taught that every man, even in childhood, is to be distrusted? Has it not taught that God holds men so cheap that the mass of them are to be dammed everlastingly; and that those who are not, are to be saved by all manner of crouchings, whinings and supplications, like spared slaves? What wonder if men despoil, crush, rob, and enslave this child of the devil; this walking leprosy; this alien and outcast? Does not God feel that way toward him? Is he not angry with him every day? I do not wonder that the great Church-bodies all over the world are on the side of oppression. No man can estimate the lashes, the chains, which Dogma has imposed on humanity, binding both body and soul.

"I arraign no less our liberal or free Christianity, as we complacently call it. I fear that, with the majority of us, the binding of a slave is not so horrible as the doubting of a miracle. Our Boston Unitarians will commune with slaveholders, but not with Theodore Parker—that brave, true man, who stands now with broken health, yet where he ever stood, in front of the phalanx of God. It seems, then, we have so much to say about our *dead* Christ, his miracles and prophecies, that we have but little time to consider our present scourged and forsaken Christ, who stands before us in the human world of to-day, with the thorn-crown piercing his brow. Let us not excuse ourselves, but vail our faces! There is no excuse for our Church. We are founded only on the grandeur of human nature, on which also we and our leaders have ever claimed that the mission of the Son of God was founded. With our views of worship there would be no need for a visible, external Church, were it not for our mission to humanity. Were there no practical duties toward mankind, our faith would say, 'Close the churches, and turn each man all the more on his own soul, so that he may worship not in any outward temple, but in his closet, in spirit and in truth.' Our visible Church is a seal to our mission to humanity, as the body is the seal of the soul's mission to other bodies. We stand here for the dignity of man, for his elevation, for every human claim or else we stand as a wart or a wen on the body. We have a God identified with man; a Bible which says, 'If ye love not your brother whom you have seen, how can ye love God whom ye have not seen?'"

If every pulpit in the land dealt with slavery in this spirit, how speedily would come the day of jubilee to our millions of bondmen! How soon would our nation cease to be, for its transcendent wickedness and oppression, and for its treachery to its own high professions,

"The jest and by-word of a mocking earth!"

The Garden; A New Pocket Manual of Practical Horticulture; or, How to Cultivate Kitchen Vegetables, Fruits, Flowers, and Ornamental Trees and Shrubs. With an Exposition of the Nature and Action of Soils and Manures, the Structure of Plants, and the Laws of Vegetable Life and Growth, etc. By the author of "How to Write," "How to Behave," etc. Fowler and Wells, 308 Broadway, New York.

Those who have not time to consult more elaborate works will do well to possess themselves of this manual, which seems to have been prepared with conscientious fidelity and to contain the subtance of that knowledge with which every farmer and gardener should become familiar. It tells how to cultivate everything belonging to the garden; how to plant trees; how to choose the best varieties of fruits; how to prune, graft, bud, destroy insects, preserve vegetables, and save seeds; and it not only tells the reader *what* to do, but *why* it should be done. The chapter on the Flower Garden will meet the wants of many ladies to whom the other portions of the work will be of less practical importance.

Remarkable Women of Different Nations and Ages. First Series, 12mo., pp. 316. John P. Jewett & Co.

The object of the work, of which this is the first volume, is to bring into one group some of the most extraordinary females of different ages and nations, whose lives occupy a sort of middle ground between romance and history. Those of whom sketches are given in this volume are the following: Beatrice Cenci, Charlotte Corday, Joanna Southcott, Jemimah Wilkinson, Madame Ursinus, Madame Gottfried, Madlle. Clairon, Harriet Mellon, Mdlle. Lenormand, Angelica Kauffman, Mary Baker, Pope Joan, and Joan of Arc. These sketches are all deeply interesting, exhibiting womanhood in a great variety of aspects and illustrating the absurdity of the popular notions of "woman's sphere."

The Hero Missionary; or, a History of the Labours of the Rev. Eugenio Kincaid. By Alfred S. Patton. New York: H. Dayton.

Mr. Kincaid is now, and has been for more than a quarter of a century, a Baptist missionary in Burmah, and the history of his labours shows him to be a devoted and self-sacrificing man. The book is interesting as any honest account of such a man must needs [illegible]; but the publication of a biography, so eulogistic as this, in the lifetime of the subject, does not accord with our views of propriety and good taste.

## Summary.

The Legitimate Mormon Succession.—The widow of Joe Smith, the Mormon, still resides at Nauvoo, but she cares nothing for the Saints, and has married a tavern-keeper, who thinks all prophets humbugs. Young Joe, who should by right have been head of the Mormons, is a stout gawky of 22, who hates Brigham Young and curses the Salt-Lakers. Nauvoo was once a place of 20,000 inhabitants, but is now a place of ruins.

Fraternal Union.—An association called the "Fraternal Union, connected with the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society," has just been formed. The Twenty-eighth Society is the Rev. Theodore Parker's. It has never heretofore had any machinery of associated action like other societies. Weekly meetings during a portion of the year at Mr. Parker's house have been the only means of bringing the members within reach and sympathy of each other. Something like a hundred and sixty members have already been obtained, and Charles W. Slack has been chosen President of the organization. The plan of operations includes the publication of tracts, lectures next fall and winter, and social meetings and recreations. The radicalism and rationalism in the city will be likely to be developed and organized by this movement.—*Bost. Cor. Tribune.*

We see references to the Washington correspondence of some of our cotemporaries to an offer said to have been made to our Government on the part of the Zuloaga Mexican Administration for the sale to us of the northern tier of Mexican States. Our good friends of the South have a custom of selling niggers running—all their right and title, that is, to catch and hold a runaway slave. If we are to trade with the Zuloaga Administration for the purchase of the northern tier of Mexican States, it must be a transaction something of the same character. The northern tier of Mexican States is not at this time in the possession or at the disposal of the Zuloaga Government. Garza holds Tamaulipas, with the exception of Tampico, which he is besieging. Nuevo Leon, Coahuila and Chihuahua are under the authority of Viduarri, who proposes to erect out of them the Republic of Sierra Madre; while Sonora, also, by the recent overthrow of Gandara, has been lost, for the present at least, to the Zuloaga Administration. Zuloaga may be willing to sell them running, but after buying them we should have them to catch.—*Tribune.*

The Hotels (in Leavenworth, Kansas) are curiosities, especially the "National." You never saw a hungrier set of men than dropped out of our coach upon arrival, and begged permission to pay 50 cents each for supper. Visions of savory steak and all the "fixings" were speedily brushed away as we sat down to the unconquerable sole leather, venerable butter and muddy coffee without cream. The shiftless, thriftless aspect of the entire establishment and the sight of the sable faces behind our chairs, suggested the fact that we were not the guests of a Yankee host. "Have you any milk?" we modestly ask. "Got none, massa!" was the melancholy reply. "Why, how is that?" we ventured again. "Have you no cows in the country?" "No, Sah! can't keep um h'yere—dey done gone all run off." The call for eggs succeeded no better—for our attendants assured us that even the hens wouldn't stay with their massa. I have witnessed just such abortive attempts at tavern-keeping not an hundred miles west of the Potomac, and was not taken by surprise when, in response to my query, Sambo said his "massa cum from Ole Virginny."—*Cor. Times.*

## Special Notices.

☞ The Sixth Yearly Meeting of the Progressive Friends of Pennsylvania will convene at Longwood (near Hamorton), Chester County, on FIRST DAY, the 30th of Fifth month, 1858, at 10 o'clock, a. m., and continue its sessions, probably, for three or four successive days.

The friends of Truth, Purity and Progress, however named or nameless, are cordially invited to aid us by their presence and co-operation.

Oliver Johnson, Henrietta W. Johnson,
Joseph A. Dugdale, William Barnard
Isaac Mendenhall, James C. Jackson,
and others.

## Advertisements.

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The Summer Session will open April 26th. For Circulars, address the Principal, J. W. SUNDERLAND,
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## Miscellaneous Department.

### GEORGE COMBE ON THE INDIA QUESTION.

[George Combe, of Edinboro', has published a letter on the India question, in which he expresses his views in very decided terms, as follows :]

I AM a great heretic in regard to India, for *I regard our conquest of it as a blunder as well as a crime.* My reasons are these :

Love of independence is an elementary feeling in human nature, which cannot be extinguished. Hence the slave has an indestructible longing and right to be free ; and no oaths, vows, or even benefits conferred, can deprive him of the right to assert his personal freedom if he can.

In our social capacity as a nation or tribe, the same feeling assumes the form of love of national independence or patriotism. It is distinct from the love of political liberty. The French would die to a man to prevent England or Russia from conquering France, and ruling it as a conquest ; but they permit tyrants of their own creation to rule over them without a murmur. In 1812, the Russians made gigantic sacrifices to preserve their national independence against French dominion ; but, having achieved this, they quietly submitted to the iron despotism of their own Emperor.

In India we are conquerors. Our superior prowess has extinguished all national independence there. The people are ruled by men aliens in race, in religion, and in language. No arguments will persuade me that this can be acceptable to the natives of India ; for the feeling of patriotism or love of national independence is indestructible. Very feeble, and very ignorant, and very timid individuals may lack the feeling, but it blazes forth as manhood, intelligence and civilization increase.

By conquest, might takes the place of right. It is immoral to dominate over an inferior race, and to deprive them of national existence ; and good fruits never grow on an evil soil. While the natives remain ignorant, and divided, we may rule them by the sword ; but at what cost. We cannot take root there, and increase and multiply, and we cannot even amalgamate with the natives. Climate and difference of physiological constitution preclude both. We must, therefore, continually transport twenty thousand Europeans annually across half the globe to supply the loss of the dominant power by death, sickness and age ; and what is our reward? We pay our countrymen for the duty of governing, out of the revenues of India. Would not equal exertions be accompanied by an equal reward in Australia, Canada, or the United States? If not, then the surplus pay is extortion. We have a profit on our trade with India. It is a bagatelle in the profits of England's trade, and might be had although we were not conquerors there. But even although it were lost, the gain on the traffic, even at fifteen or twenty per cent. on the value of the commodities, would not exceed three or four millions per annum ; and while we rule by the sword we shall expend all the Indian revenue, and as much of our own money as this profit will cover, in maintaining our dominion. Moreover, no prospect of gaining profit by trade can justify conquest. To force a people to buy and sell with us is to oppress them ; and, as they will think, to cheat them. If they consider our trade beneficial to them, they will seek it voluntarily.

It is said that we have never injured, but caressed, pampered and spoiled the Sepoys, who took our pay and swore fidelity to our standard voluntarily. This may be true ; but their revolt shows that when we have, by our discipline and instruction, brought out their manhood, they have felt the degradation of their position, and their intuitive emotions have revolted from the service we have assigned to them, viz., that of watch-dogs over their conquered countrymen. We must reverse all the lessons of history, and call Tell and the Swiss of his day, rebels ; the Spanish patriots of 1809, traitors to Joseph Bonaparte ; the Saxon regiments which, in 1813, went over from the French camp into that of Prussia, foresworn scoundrels, &c. ; otherwise, we must recognise in these Sepoys patriots like the followers of Bruce and Wallace. They are cruel barbarians, and I abhor them for their massacres ; but we are conquerors, and the right to assert their independence is indestructible. When slaves rise, they murder their masters. This is very horrid ; but the man who holds another in slavery should know that he is outraging one of the indestructible feelings of humanity, and never can be safe while he continues to do so. And it is the same in national conquests.

All conquests that have ended in good have been those in which the dominant power laid aside its exclusive pretensions, and amalgamated with the vanquished, and raised all to equal rights. This was England's case after the Norman conquest, and Ireland, while ruled as a conquest, was a curse to England. India cannot be held by amalgamation ; and in proportion as we enlighten and civilize the natives, we shall awaken their feelings of patriotism, deepen their sense of degradation, and prepare them for rebellion.

Our rule, therefore, is an enterprise against nature, and no human power will suffice to bring fruits of peace, profit, and well-being, either to ourselves or to our conquered subjects, out of it.

This is a terrible heresy ; but I cannot help embracing it. Nevertheless, I do not insist on any one becoming my disciple, and accord to all the full freedom of opinion which I here claim for myself.

Of course, I desire the present rebellion and anarchy to be brought to a close, and do not see how we could abandon India with advantage to the natives in the present state of things. All I contend for is, that our conquest was a blunder, and that it will prove not a pearl of great price in our Queen's crown, but a thorn in our sides until we escape from it in one way or another.

### THE SCOTCH COVENANTERS.

From The Springfield Republican.

WE had the good fortune, not long since, to fall in with an old book printed in Scotland, some 200 years ago, containing the "Solemn League and Covenant," and a history of the persecutions endured by its early supporters. We confess to a hearty admiration of solid Scotch obstinacy, whether in religion or politics, and nowhere is this quality more conspicuous than in the history of the Covenanters. Very little is now known of the Covenanters as a religious sect. It is but an inconsiderable body in Scotland, and has sent but few representatives to this country. There is a small church in Boston, not able to support a regular pastor, whose quaint and simple forms of service are the same with those used by their ancestors when driven by persecution to worship in caves and mountain fastnesses. They adhere also to the political principles as well as the religion of the Covenant, and will have nothing to do with our government, because it is not established upon Christian principles. The father of Effie and Jennie Deans, in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," furnishes a good specimen of the strictness and inflexibility of the Covenanter of the old time.

The national covenant was first signed in 1580, by King James, and afterwards by the noblemen, burgesses, ministers and commons of the united kingdoms. They agreed in it to support and defend the faith of the kirk of Scotland as God's eternal truth, and to "endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness," etc. But the Scotch alone were sincere in the covenant, and neither the government nor the English and Irish signers of the covenant ever came up to their engagements. The Scotch, holding the government false to its obligations, considered resistance and rebellion a religious duty. Hence the martyrdoms and the civil wars which distracted the country for nearly half a century. The old book before us contains the dying testimonies of some of the martyrs who died in vindication of their fidelity to the covenant, from which the rulers had apostatized. One James Mitchell, full of zeal against the false prelates, attempted the assassination of the archbishop of St. Andrews, at Edinburg, in 1668, but, with unsteady hand, missed his aim, and wounded the bishop of Orkney. He was sentenced to death, and was glorified by the Scotch church as a martyr. In his dying testimony he vindicates the attempt at assassination as a religious obligation, and the kirk seems to have sanctioned this view without qualification. A few sentences from his dying testimony will show the grounds upon which he places his justification :

"It is manifest that the seducer and intiser to worship a false God is to be put to death by the hand of those whom he seeks to turn away from the Lord, especially by the hand of the witnesses, whereof I am one, as it appeareth, Deut. 13, which precept I humbly take to be moral and not meerely judicial. * * Moreover we see that the people of Israel destroyed idolatry, not only in Judah, wherein the king concurred, but in Israel and in Manasseh, where the king himself was an idolator. * * Then I doubt not but that it doth become the duty of every Christian to destroy and cut off both idolatry and idolators. The bishops will and do say that what they did against the Lord's people, whom they murthered, they did it by law and authority, but what I did was contrary to both. I answer, the king himself and all the estates of the land, and every individual person in the land, both were and are obliged, by the oath of God upon them, to have by force of armes extirpated the perjured prelates and prelacy, the covenant being engaged to on these tearms. * * It is acknowledged by all rational loyalists that it is lawful for any private person to kill an usurper, or a tyrant *sine titulo*, and to kill Irish rebels and torries, or the like, and to kill bears and wolves, because the good of his action doth not only redound to the person himself, but to the whole commonwealth."

But we cannot pursue Mr. Mitchell's plea further, and we admire the patience of the government that bore the infliction of long scriptural arguments against itself from the martyrs at the place of their execution.

The Covenanters had no idea of religious toleration. They *knew* they were right, absolutely and infallibly, and they knew that whatever differed from their form of faith and worship was so far sinful and dangerous ; and while they knew how, better than almost any branch of the church in that day, to overthrow error with argument, they did not consider their duty accomplished unless they had inflicted bodily chastisement upon the heretics. With our present views of the rights of the individual to judge for himself what is true and right, we wonder at the intolerance of the best Christians of two hundred years ago. And yet, if we would but see it, the same spirit remains, in different, but not less hateful forms, to mar the glory of the Christian church. The Catholic church is not the only one remaining that claims infallibility and assumes to utter the divine malediction against men for differences of private judgment. The idea that honest belief, whatever it may accept, is intrinsically a good act, and cannot be treated, either by God or man, as a crime, can hardly yet be said to be the doctrine of Christendom, much as we boast of our toleration. There are many excellent men yet who consider their brethren in peril of utter destruction on account of their honest mistakes of judgment or errors of education. Often enough would the catholic-spirited Paul, if he were still on the earth, have occasion to exclaim, "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth."

There is one characteristic of the preachers of the ancient kirk of Scotland that we must respect—their boldness and fidelity in the exposure and rebuke of public sins. They had not learned those nice distinctions between political and individual morality by which the modern pulpit seeks to justify itself in remaining silent as to the chief crimes of the age. There were some such ministers in Scotland then, but they had the excuse that fidelity would expose them to personal suffering, and perhaps to death ; their modern imitators hazard only their bread and butter by fidelity to the Christian cause. In 1684 the assembly of Scotland passed an act "for censuring ministers for their silence and not speaking to the corruptions of the time." With a curious and instructive paragraph from this act we close our hasty view of some of the peculiarities of the old church of Scotland :

"The General Assembly, taking to their serious consideration, the great scandals which have lately encreased, partly through some Ministers their reserving and not declaring of themselves against the prevalent sins of the times, partly through the spite, Malignity, and insolency of others against such Ministers as have faithfully and freely reproved the Sins of the times without respect of persons, Do therefore for preventing and removing such scandals hereafter, Appoint and Ordain, that every Minister do by the word of Wisdom apply his Doctrine faithfully against the publick Sins and Corruptions of these times, and particularly against the Sins and Scandals in that Congregation wherein he lives, according to the Act of the Generall Assembly 1590, revived by the Assembly at *Glasgow* 1638. Appointing that such as shall be found not applying their Doctrine to corruptions, which is the Pastorall gift, cold, and wanting of Spiritual zeal, flatterers and dissembling of publick sins, and especially of great Personages in their Congregations, that all such persons be censured according to the degree of their faults and continuing therein be deprived.

"Tis also hereby Recommended to the severall Presbyteries and Provincial Synods, that they make speciall enquiry and triall concerning all the Ministery in their bounds, And if any be found too sparing, generall, or ambiguous in the foresaid applications and reproofs that they be sharply rebuked, dealt with, and warned to amend under the pain of suspension from their Ministery."

### THE ALCHYMISTS.

From The Dublin University Magazine.

To obtain the uncorrupt element and restore the balance of nature, sages first sought to discover the philosopher's stone, which contained the four elements, uncorrupted and perfectly balanced.

Their axioms were, that God, to preserve a balance of power (a dogma as foolish in old philosophy as it is in modern politics), ordained that all things should have antagonistic principles—the life of one to be the death of the other—that which produced one consuming another, and generating a third more noble. Dead creatures feed living creatures, and the change which is death is the necessary means by which substances interchange natures, and mutually feed each other. The farmer eats herbs and meat, then dies and turns to gases, which are air, and fire, and water, and earth, which eventually condense into plants, and pass as food into the flesh of beasts.

It is strange our two chief writers on physiognomy should have been Swiss, and both inhabitants of nearly the same locality.

Paracelsus, who all his life burrowed about among earth-stained miners, had studied their habits and learned their traditions. He had hoped to find some clue to his philosophical researches among those rude wielders of the pick and spade. He is fond of relating his experiences, describing the cheiromancy of mines, and of the great trees of gold and silver that grew, and shot forth their long branches through clay, and loam, and sand. The deeper and broader the veins, he says, the older the mines and the richer the metal. Different coloured earths foretold different metals; but the best of all signs were the coruscations or luminous appearances seen in mines by night. The direction they took, their colour, &c., all announced metal abundant, but not yet ripe. These signs, the miners thought, were instituted by God, to enable man to discover hid treasure.

Sciomancy, or the divination by shadows, was another class of harmless, but useless, magic. The Chaldeans, says Paracelsus, when they were banished from a place, and wanted to bury their treasure, observed at what hour, minute and day a shadow fell upon a certain statue or fountain, and then hid their gold beneath it, thus preserving a certain clue for its discovery.

There is something very vivid in the common sense of the means of concealment at a troublous time when such buryings of gold and jewels were not unfrequent.

All means of discovering the future by beryls, looking-glasses, flight of birds, &c., Paracelsus utterly condemned, as contrary to God and nature's command. Visions he held to be doubtful, and often of devilish origin. All ceremonies and conjurations he considered forbidden by the Old Testament, and advised only prayer, faith, and watchfulness as the Christian's foundation of magic.

The signs of metals were the stars or coruscations which they gave out in the course of preparation.

Of some natural signatures now acknowledged, as, for instance, the circles in wood, which indicate its age, Paracelsus says nothing ; but he mentions the horns of cattle, the teeth of horses, and the claws of birds, as corroborative of his doctrine ; he mentions, also, the colours of clouds and the circles round the moon.

Not satisfied with all these sources of omens, Paracelsus believed in pyromancy, or divination by fire ; hydromancy, or that by water ; and chaomancy, or divination by wind and air.

The first science was the observation of all sounds in the fire, of all visions of salamanders, and sight of falling stars, comets, and lightnings. It included all observations of will-o'-the-wisps, and corpse candles moving over new-made graves ; all double suns and supernatural glimmerings.

The signs of hydromancy were inundations, floods, rains, storms, appearance of sea monsters, tempests, agitation of water, and perturbation of waves.

Chaomancy showed its signs, to use the mystic language, by the stars of the air and wind. The chaomantist drew his prophecies from shaken houses and trees uptorn ; from broken boughs and scattered flowers. During whirlwinds it was supposed that spirits fell from the upper air and voices were heard ; hobgoblins, household gods and wood spirits appeared ; and the honey dew, or manna, that fell on leaves, was even thought supernatural.

The necromantist not only invoked the dead, but foretold death. It was held a sign of dissolution if spirits were heard knocking, when purple spots came on the dead man's skin, or his hands turned to a clay colour, and his body bled. The necromantist professed to hear voices from graves, and to bring back tidings from the bosom of hell.

Alchymy was the only Chaldaic superstition that Diocletian in vain tried to put down by a persecution which acted upon it as shaving does upon hair, stimulating and not destroying it.

Perpetuated by the Arabs, it revived in the middle ages, becoming the passion of the sage, the wonder of the citizen, and the imposture of the needy. Our own Edward IV. encouraged it, and in Charles I.'s time it revived in a wonderful degree. While money is power, and there is a dark corner left in science, it will continue to be studied. My readers will scarcely believe that, not thirty years ago, an alchymist's lamp burnt day and night in the back room of a London editor. Alchymy and astrology have still their thousands of votaries, who yet believe with hope and enthusiasm what Boyle and Newton both believed in, and what Bacon did not doubt.

In old books, from Chaucer downwards, we find tales of itinerant cheats, in threadbare gowns, with bleared eyes and smoky hands, who pretended to have discovered the philosopher's stone, and were afraid to disclose their riches to the vulgar. If they wormed into a convent, all the church plate went in experiments ; if into a country house, they melted down everything, to the knight's spurs and the wife's thimble, and skulked off some night, leaving nothing behind but some warped fire irons and a heap of broken glasses. These men smelt of brimstone, had stained fingers, grimy faces, and affected great sanctity. All failures they accounted for by the absence of some one ingredient, the carelessness of the furnace watcher, or the brittleness of a crucible.

Sometimes a man on the brink of discovery, in a rage at some oversight, would leap up and smash his pots and glasses with any billet he could seize. The jargon was all mystical. They called one ingredient "the red man," and another "the white wife." "The chase of the green lion" was the name of one experiment ; and alchymy they describe as a palace with twelve gates, which were calcination, dissolution, separation, conjunction, putrefaction, congelation, sublimation, &c. Their ingredients were star slime, and soot, and blood, and eggs. They were always being pursued by bailiffs and disappointed dupes, who found their pockets stuffed with medals and bad money, for they were often coiners and poisoners. To obtain their release they made extravagant promises of producing regal medicine that would turn everything it touched to gold.

The real philosopher was, it was supposed, obliged before he died to confess his secret to some favourite disciple ; and many writers are said to have derived their learning from such sources. So fascinating was the passion of this pursuit that the golden fleece itself could not have been more eagerly sought.

The alchymist professed only to help nature, believing that all created things had a tendency to become gold, but were checked by mixture with impurities. To remove these impurities was to restore a metal to gold. Many of the philosophers, including Paracelsus, disavowed the pursuit for the stone, preferring, as they declared or pretended, the elixir of life, which would be a blessing to mankind. A religious life they all deemed a necessary preparation for the long search. They declared it right to conceal from the world discoveries, which would only be abused by the rabble, and used a mystic language of blended Arabic and Hebrew.

Their theory is tolerably well defined by Ben Jonson, a deep reader on abstruse subjects, thus : All things, they thought, arose from the humid exhalation of earth, which is water, and unctuous, and a vicious residuum, which is earth alone, the refuse of creation. The more dryness and less moisture became stone ; the more fatness, sulphur, and quicksilver, the mother of metals. From the fatness, sulphur, the present watery property of all things that melt with fire ; and the airy and oily part, quicksilver. These two made metals, ductile, malleable, and extendable, and combining in the earth, were heavy, producing gold, which they believed grew like a tree, and shot out its branches through the earth.—*Article : The Worshippers of Mercury ; or, Paracelsus and his brother Alchymists.*

For The Standard.

### BIRTH-DAY SONNET.

To little use hath life been lengthened here,
To little strengthening of my feeble mind,
To little benefit of my dear kind,
If I must let my duties even appear
To move one transiently regretful tear
For self—with sympathy so close intwined;
To my own failings if I e'er grow blind
When canvassing another's, far or near.
If aught but love can in this heart find place—
Whose'er the offence, or whatsoe'er the cause—
If I be true not to those Higher laws
Which mark their impress on the Christian's race,
Which guide his life, his conduct, and thus save,
Better, O God! my hiding place the grave.

Feb. 20, 1858. C.

### GOSSIP.

ONE of the wisest and best among our English ethical writers, the author of *Companions of my Solitude*, says *à-propos* of gossip, that one half of the evil-speaking of the world arises, not from *malice prepense*, but from mere want of amusement. And I think we may even grant that in the other half, constituted small of mind or selfish in disposition, it is seldom worse than the natural falling back from large abstract interests, which they cannot understand, upon those which they can—alas! only the narrow, commonplace, and personal.

Yet they mean no harm ; are often under the delusion that they both mean and do a great deal of good, take a benevolent watch over their fellow-creatures, and so forth. They would not say an untrue word, or do an unkind action—not they! The most barefaced slanderer always tells her story with a good motive, or thinks she does ; begins her story in a harmless "bit of gossip," just to pass the time away—the time which hangs so heavy! and ends by becoming the most arrant and mischievous tale-bearer under the sun.

*Ex. gratiâ*—Let me put on record the decline and fall, voluntarily confessed, of two friends of mine, certainly the last persons likely to take to tittle-tattle ; being neither young nor elderly ; on the whole, perhaps rather "bright" than stupid ; having plenty to do and to think of—too much, indeed, since they came on an enforced holiday out of that vortex in which London whirls her professional classes round and round, year by year, till at last often nothing but a handful of dry bones is cast on shore. They came to lodge at the village of X——, let me call it, as being an "unknown quantity," which the reader will vainly attempt to find out, since it is just like some hundred other villages—has its church and rector, great house and squire, doctor and lawyer (alas! poor village, I fear its *two* doctors and *two* lawyers); also its small select society, where everybody knows everybody—that is, their affairs : for themselves, one half the parish resolutely declines "knowing" the other half—sometimes pretermittently, sometimes permanently. Of course, not a single soul would have ventured to know Bob and Maria—as I shall call the strangers—had they not brought an introduction to one family, under the shelter of whose respectability they meekly placed their own. A very worthy family it was, which showed them all hospitality, asked them to tea continually, and there, in the shadow of the pleasant drawing-room, which overlooked the street, indoctrinated them into all the mysteries of X——, something in this wise:

"Dear me! there's Mrs. Smith ; she has on that identical yellow bonnet which has been so long in Miss Miffin's shop-window. Got it cheap, no doubt : Mr. Smith does keep the poor thing *so* close! Annabella, child, make haste ; just tell me whether that isn't the same young man who called on the Joneses three times last week! Red whiskers and moustaches. One of those horrid officers, no doubt. My dear Miss Maria, I never do like to say a word against my neighbours ; but before I would let my Annabella go about like the Jones's girls . . . . Bless my life! there's that cab at the corner house again —and her husband out! Well, if I ever could have believed it, even of silly, flirty Mrs. Green! whom people do say old Mr. Green married out of a London hosier's, where he went in to buy a pair of gloves. What a shocking place London must be . . . .! But I beg your pardon, my dear . . . ." And so on, and so on.

This, slightly varied, was the stock conversation, which seemed amply sufficient to fill the minds and hours of the whole family, and, indeed, of every family at X——.

Maria and Bob used to go home laughing, and thanking their stars that they *did* live in that shocking place London. Bob made harmless jokes at the expense of the unconscious household who,

"Pinnacled dim in the intense inane,"

could drop down, hawk-like, upon reputations, bonnets, and beaus. Maria gave vent to a majestic but indignant pity ; and both hugged themselves in the belief that never, under any circumstances, could *they* sink to such a dead level of folly, vacuity, spite.

Weeks passed—rather slowly, especially when, of autumn evenings, they found themselves *minus* books, piano, theatre, concerts, society—in fact, in precisely the position of the inhabitants of X—— all year round. So, as daylight was less dull than candlelight, they used to rise at unearthly hours ; dine—shall I betray the Goths? —at 11.30 a. m., take tea at 4 p. m., and go to bed as soon after dark as they could for shame. At last, from very dulness, Maria got into the habit of sitting at the window and telling Bob what was passing in the street, interspersed with little illustrative anecdotes she had caught up, "just as bits of human nature." One, the stock scandal of the place, interested them both so much that they watched for the heroine's carriage every day for a week ; and when at last Maria cried, "There it is!" Bob jumped up with all the eagerness of Annabella herself, and missing the sight, retired grumbling : "What nonsense! I declare you're getting just as bad a gossip as anybody here!" (*N. B.*—The masculine mind, in an accusative form, always prefers the second person of the verb.)

"Well," observed Maria, "shall I give up telling you any news I happen to hear?"

"Oh, no! You may tell what you like. As the man said when his wife beat him—it amuses you, and it doesn't harm me."

Finally—I have it from Maria's own confession—coming in one afternoon absorbed in cogitations as to what possible motive Mrs. Green could have in telling Mrs. Elizabeth Jones she wished to call on her, Maria ; and what on earth would be done if Annabella, whose mamma wouldn't allow her even to bow to Mrs. Green, should happen to call at the same time—she was quite startled by Bob's springing up from the sofa to meet her, with an air of great relief.

"So you're back at last! Well, whom did you see, and what did they say to you? Do sit down, and let's hear all the gossip going."

"Gossip!" And meeting one another's eyes, they both burst into a hearty fit of laughter, declaring they never again would pride themselves on being a bit better than their neighbours.—*A Woman's Thoughts about Women.*

### LITTLE JACK HORNER.

WITH reference to the far-famed "Jack Horner," I send the particulars of a story which was told to me by an old lady in Somersetshire. It is supposed to account for the nursery rhyme of

"Little Jack Horner,
Sat in the corner,
Eating a Christmas Pie;
He put in his thumb,
And pulled out a plum,
And said, 'What a good boy am I.'"

It is this : When the monasteries and their property were seized, orders were given that the title deeds of the abbey estates at Mells, which were very extensive and valuable, and partly consisted of a sumptuous grange, built by Abbot John Selwood, should be given up to the commissioners. After some delay it was determined by the Abbot of Glastonbury to give them up ; and for want of a safe mode for conveying them, it was decided that the most likely mode to avoid their being seized by any but those for whom they were intended was to send them in pasty, which should be forwarded as a present to one of the commissioners in London. The safest messenger, and least likely to excite suspicion was considered to be a lad named *Jack Horner*, who was the son of poor parents living in the neighbourhood of the Grange. The lad set out on his journey on foot, laden with the pasty. It was a weary road, and, England not being so thickly inhabited as now, he sat to rest in as snug a corner as he could find by the wayside. Hunger, too, overcame him, and he was at a loss what to do; when he bethought himself there would be no harm in tasting a little of the pasty which he was carrying. He therefore inserted his thumb under the crust, when, lo! there was nothing but parchments. Whether that allayed his hunger then or not, I cannot say ; but although he could not read or understand these parchments, yet he thought they might be valuable. He therefore took one of the parchments and pocketed it and pursued his journey with the rest of his pasty. Upon his delivering his parcel, it was perceived that one of the chief deeds (the deeds of the Mells Abbey estates) was missing ; and as it was thought that the abbot had withheld it, an order was immediately sent for his execution. But the sequel was, that after the monasteries were despoiled, there was found in the possession of the family of Jack Horner a piece of parchment which was, in fact, the title deed of Mells Abbey and lands ; and that was "the plum" which little Jack Horner had unwittingly become possessed of. The Abbot Whiting was executed for withholding the deeds. That is the tale as told to me.—*Notes and Queries.*

### DEATH AND CHARACTER OF EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.

From The National Review.

AFTER the publication of the "True Christian Religion" at Amsterdam, Swedenborg again proceeded to London, and took lodgings in the house of Shearsmith, a peruke maker, 26 Great Bath street, Coldbath Fields. On Christmas Eve, 1771, he was attacked with a stroke of apoplexy ; and, on the partial recovery of his speech and health, Dr. Hartley and Dr. Messiter visited him, and "besought him to declare whether all that he had written was strictly true, or whether any part or parts were to be excepted." "I have written," he replied warmly, "nothing but the truth." Two months afterwards, John Wesley, being then in company with a number of other ministers, had the following note put into his hand : "Sir : I have been informed in the world of spirits that you have a strong desire to converse with me. I shall be happy to see you, if you will favour me with a visit. I am, &c., Emanuel Swedenborg." Wesley acknowledged to his companions, to whom he communicated the note, that he had entertained such a desire ; and, indeed, it strikes us, though it does not seem to have occurred to Wesley or Dr. Wilkinson, that Swedenborg could scarcely have required a message from the spiritual world to inform him that such a wish was almost sure to have existed in the mind of a contemporary innovator in religious matters. Wesley wrote, in reply, that he was preparing for a six months' journey, but would visit him on his return to London. Swedenborg again wrote to say that it would be too late, as he should die on 29th of the following month. As his death approached, he was asked by his friends if he wished to receive the sacrament. He replied that, as a member of the spiritual world, he did not need it ; but would take it "in order to show the connection between the church in heaven and the church on earth." The Swedish clergymen, the Rev. Arvid Ferelius, who officiated, asked whether he believed himself to be a sinner. "Certainly," he replied, "so long as I carry about with me this sinful body." Ferelius further suggested to him that "as many persons thought that he had endeavoured only to make himself a name by his new theological system, he would do well now to publish the truth to the world, and to recant either the whole or part of what he had advanced, since he had now nothing more to expect from the world, which he was so soon about to leave forever." Swedenborg rose up in bed, and said, "with great zeal and emphasis," "As true as you see me before you, so true is everything that I have written. I could have said more, had I been permitted. When you come into eternity, you will see all things as I have stated and described them." On the 29th of March, 1772, he died, as he had predicted to many witnesses.

Swedenborg was buried in the vault of the Swedish church, in Prince's square, Ratcliffe Highway. In the October following, M. Sandel, counsellor of the Board of Mines in Sweden, delivered an academical eulogium upon him in the hall of the House of Nobles. This eulogium was in the name of the Academy of Science, and it therefore enables us to determine the sort of esteem in which he was held by the best intellects of that time in his own country :

"If there are some countenances," said Sandel, "of which, as the painters assure us, it is extemely difficult to give an exact likeness, how difficult must it be to delineate that of a vast and sublime genius, who never knew either repose or fatigue ; who, occupied with sciences the most profound, was long engaged with researches into the secrets of nature, and who, in his later years, applied all his efforts to unveil the greatest mysteries . . . . . who, being endowed with a strength of faculty truly extraordinary in the decline of his age, boldly elevated his thoughts still further, and soared to the greatest heights to which the intellectual faculty can rise ; and who, finally, has given occasion for the formation respecting him of a multitude of opinions, differing as much from each other as do the minds of the different men by whom they are formed!" ... ... ... The testimonies of personal friends—who were not, however, "Swedenborgians" —cannot but be interesting to those of our readers who have accompanied us thus far. Sandel says : "He never allowed himself to have recourse to dissimulation. A sincere friend of mankind, in his examination of the character of others he was particularly desirous to discover in them this virtue, which he regarded as an infallible proof of the presence of many more. He was cheerful and agreeable in society. He knew how to check opportunely, and with great address, that species of wit which would indulge itself at the expense of serious things. As a public functionary, he was upright and just ; he discharged his duties with great exactness, and neglected nothing but his own advancement. He lived under the reigns of many of our sovereigns, and enjoyed the particular favour and kindness of all." The prime minister, Count Höpken, who knew Swedenborg intimately for two-and-forty years, says, "I do not recollect to have known any man of more uniformly virtuous character. . . . . He possessed a sound judgment upon all occasions, saw clearly, and himself well on every subject. . . . He was certainly a pattern of sincerity, virtue, and piety ; and at the same time, in my opinion, the most learned man in this kingdom." "He affects no honour," says Hartley, "but declines it ; and is so far from the ambition of heading a sect, that wherever he resides on his travels he is a mere solitary. . . . . . He was a man of uncommon humility. He was of a catholic spirit, and loved all good men of every church." Ferelius testifies that he never mentioned his own writings or doctrines but when he was asked some question about them, when he always spoke as freely as he had written." The people at whose houses he had lodged all spoke of him like Mr. Shearsmith, who said that "he always conducted himself in the most rational, prudent, pious and Christian-like manner." Shearsmith's maid-servant declared that "he was a good-natured man, a blessing to the house ; and while he stayed there, they had harmony and good business." Mrs. Hart, the wife of his printer, records that "he was of such a nature that he could impose on no one ; that he always spoke the truth on every little matter, and would not have made an evasion though his life had been at stake."—*Article : Swedenborgiana.*

### WINTER—THE INN.

HEAR his great fires, see how his bleak old face
Glows ruddy through the stream of fragrant punch.
Can pensive Spring, a snowdrop in his hand,
A solitary lark above his head,
Laugh like the jovial sinner in his cups?
I vote for Winter! Why, you know the "Crown,"
The rows of pewter winking in the light,
The mighty egg flip at the sanded bar,
The nine pins, skittles, silent dominoes,
The bellied landlord with his purple head,
Like a red cabbage on December morn
Crusted with snow. His buxom daughter, Bess—
A dahlia, not a rosebud—she who bears
The foaming porter to the guests, and laughs
The loudest at their wit. Can any Summer
Build you a nest like that?

ALEXANDER SMITH.

### NAPOLEON AND WELLINGTON.

BOTH owed their success to the care with which, in combining their operations, they employed the means which were at their disposal, suitably to the character of their nation, and to the diversity of the institutions to which they were bound to conform. Napoleon, at the head of an English army, would have found insurmountable difficulties, arising even from the nature of his own genius, and Wellington, had he been called to the command of the enthusiastic troops of a victorious republic, would have been in a no less embarrassing situation. Napoleon strikes the imagination, and advances, as one may say, by a succession of prodigies ; Wellington addresses himself to men's reason, and attains success by ordinary means. There is not one proclamation of Bonaparte's in which glory is not exalted, and duty forgotten ; there is not one of Wellington's orders of the day which makes even an allusion to glory, or in which any other motives are appealed to, save duty and patriotism. An imagination fond of prodigies and insatiable ; aiming at the infinite and the impossible ; the most vast and versatile faculties ; boundless conceptions, united with a singular susceptibility of ideas and impressions, were the principal characteristics of Napoleon's genius. Solid judgment, cool reasoning powers, a glance of marvellous accuracy, both in the field of battle and closet ; the most piercing good sense, raising itself to a height which becomes genius ; perseverance which nothing could weary, and which nothing could distract ; imperturbable steadiness in the greatest dangers, were some of the characteristics which made the Duke of Wellington so great a figure in the history of the nineteenth century. It was with giant steps that Napoleon ran a career that bore him for a moment to the summit of human greatness ; by the rapidity of his rise he amazed the world, and everything about him bears the stamp of magical improvisation. His rival, on the contrary, raised himself with a patient and modest slowness, by courageous reflection. He never receded ; he continually advanced with successful moderation ; and his glory has followed an advance which always had the skill to avoid reverses. To speak vividly to the imagination of men, to fascinate them, to awaken their enthusiasm, to labour by every possible means to inspire them with an admiration not unmingled with terror, was the constant study of Napoleon, who, when occasion required, did not disdain the tricks of theatrical display. Always simple, the Duke of Wellington never attempted to produce any effect except upon men's reason—under no circumstances did he ever lend himself to anything like dramatic effect. Duty was his only rule, and the only law which he imposed on others ; he had a horror of charlatanism and falsehood ; he never sought to influence the minds of his troops ; but on one or two rare occasions he reminded them that they were expected to shed their blood freely, because such was their duty. . . . Wellington, obliged to respect the laws and institutions of his country, met with obstacles unknown to the French generals, and to which all resistance was necessarily fruitless. As chief of the army, he had to obey statesmen who knew nothing of military affairs, and who yet pretended to direct them ; a pretension as fatal as ridiculous, but in strict conformity to the spirit of constitutional governments. . . . Napoleon, on the contrary, executed his resolutions without control. During his reign the press had no liberty, except that of panegyric ; the legislative assembly, and the nation in general, had no right save that of obedience. The Emperor had nothing to do but to require of France her last man and her last shilling, and France was willing to give both without a murmur.—*Brialmont's Duke of Wellington.*

### PEACE WITH ASPIRATION.

MAY hope no present pleasure mar,
Much less my patience here prevent,
But be from me forever far
The brute's beatitude, content!
While Heav'n, unweary, waits to bless,
How foolish is the man and vain,
Whose low ambition looks to less
Than that which none shall e'er attain!
These Scriptures have my heart enlarged;
"Be holy," and the wondrous word:
"With folly God his angels charged;"
And, that interpreting by this,
I learn, with absolute desire,
To scorn the lap of every bliss
Which does not nurse me for a higher.
Yet, having seen the frantic moil
Of base life link'd with thoughts that tower,
And felt how humbling the recoil
Of hearts aspiring past their power,
I, knowing that the realm of God
Is nigh me, even in the heart,
Will take no eagle flights abroad,
Lest peace, a startled dove, depart.

—*Fraser's Magazine.* C. P.

### THE ESCAPE OF CHARLES II., AFTER THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER.

From The Westminster Review.

ALL along the Kidderminster road that September night was hurry and confusion ; the king knew not whither to fly. London was proposed ; but no one except Lord Wilmot fell in with this plan. Scotland was next thought of ; and the royal party, separating from the main body, turned northwards. Darkness overtook them, and at Kimer Heath, near Kidderminster, they lost their way. In this dismal plight, Lord Derby remembered Boscobel House. So on their perilous journey they again went. Stourbridge must be passed through, where bodies of the enemy were quartered. Through its silent streets they went with all secresy, stopping at a lonely roadside house out of the town for refreshments ; and just when daylight was dawning, they found themselves at White-Ladies, a seat of the Giffard family. The king's horse, by way of precaution, was stabled in the very hall. No time could be lost. Mr. Giffard sent for Richard and William Penderel, who, with their other brothers, were tenants on his estate, and to them committed the king. Blue ribbon, and George of diamonds, and garter, and princely ornaments had to be flung away. The king's long black hair was cut country fashion. His hands and face smeared over with soot. He had to exchange his own clothes for a coarse noggen shirt, a common countryman's green and greasy spit, and leathern doublet. Whilst they are busy disguising him, news is brought that the enemy is close at hand. The king is hurried through a secret door, and hid in Spring Coppice. Into the thickest part of it do they plunge. Morning has broken, and the rain is pouring heavily on the royal fugitive, as he sits shivering at the foot of a tree. All his friends, with the exception of Wilmot, who remains in the neighbourhood under the protection of John Penderel, have now left him ; not even daring to know where he is hid, for fear that under coercion they might betray the secret. They attempt to rejoin Lesley's horse, which is as useless in retreat as it was in battle ; and is soon cut to pieces. Lord Derby, with many others, is taken prisoner. The Duke of Buckingham, Lord Leviston, with a few more, contrive to escape. Richard Penderel manages to procure a blanket for the king, and his sister-in-law, "the good wife Yates, brings a mess of milk, and some butter and eggs," declaring, with true womanly affection, "that she would die rather than discover him." A poor court, this wet wood, for a king ; and yet these poor people were sincerer courtiers than ever Charles had before known.

In the dusk of the evening, Charles and his guide stole out of the wood, with the intention of making for Wales. At his guide's house, Charles was again disguised, and assumed the name of Will Jones ; kings, even in our times, have been reduced to such necessities. They then started for Madeley, on the banks of the Severn. On their road there, an incident befel them, which we give in the words of the author of "Boscobel" :

"Before his majesty came to Madeley, he met with an ill-favoured encounter at Evelin Mill, being about two miles from thence. The miller, it seems, was an honest man—but his majesty and Richard Penderel knew it not —and had then in his house some considerable persons of his majesty's army, who took shelter there in the flight from Worcester, and had not been long in the mill, so that the miller was upon his watch ; and Richard, unhappily permitting a gate to clap through which they had passed, gave occasion to the miller to come out and boldly ask, 'Who is there?' Richard, thinking the miller had pursued them, quitted the usual way with some haste, and led his majesty over a little brook, which they were forced to wade through, and which contributed much towards the galling of his Majesty's feet, who, as he afterwards pleasantly observed, was here in some danger of losing his guide, but that the rustling of Richard's calves'-skin breeches was the best direction his majesty had to follow him in that dark night" (pp. 225-226).

Madeley, the seat of Mr. Wolfe, is reached safely about midnight, and the tired king, for better safety than in the house, passes the night and the whole of the next day in a hay-loft, for the Welsh expedition had to be given up, as the enemy had posts on the Severn, which it was found impossible to evade ; and a little before evening the king and his guide beat their retreat to Boscobel, Charles's hands and face having been previously stained with walnut leaves by Mrs. Wolfe. To avoid their friend, the miller, they were forced to wade the stream, Charles plunging in first, being a swimmer, and helping his guide over. About five in the morning they reached Boscobel wood, where the king found Major Carlis, who led the forlorn hope at Worcester, and who, as the author of "Boscobel" quaintly says, "had seen not the last man born, but the last man killed at Worcester." The king and the major climbed up into a thick pollard oak, or, in the language of the country people of the present day, "a dorrel tree." Through its thick, close branches and its yellow autumn leaves they could peep and see the red coats of their enemies passing close under them, peering into every corner of the wood. Evening at last rescued them : and now,

When all the paths were dim,
And far below the Roundhead rode,
And humm'd a surly hymn,

they returned to Boscobel House, where William Penderel lived, and where his good wife, Joan, provided the king with a supper of chickens. At supper a council is held as to the next day's provisions, and Major Carlis proposes a campaign against a neighbouring sheep-fold, which he successfully performs the next morning, killing a sheep with his dagger, and William Penderel bearing it home in triumph ; an exploit which reminds us of some of the scenes which Charles Edward must have witnessed in the Cave of Corado. The next day, which was Sunday, the king appears to have spent partly engaged in cooking mutton-chops, and in his own private devotions. —*Article : The Boscobel Tracts.*

### THE PRETENDER'S INVASION OF ENGLAND.

EVERYBODY knows the main incidents of this romantic campaign ; the successful battles which gave the insurgents the apparent command of the Lowlands ; the advance into England ; the retreat from Derby ; the disasters of the rebel army, and its final extinction at Culloden. But although to us it appears a very serious state of affairs—a crown placed on the arbitrament of war, battles in open field, surprise on the part of the Hanoverians, and loud talking on the part of their rivals—the tranquillity of all ranks and in all quarters is the most inexplicable thing in the whole proceeding. When the landing was first announced, alarm was of course felt, as at a fair, when it is reported that a tiger has broke loose from the menagerie. But in a little time everything resumed its ordinary appearance. George himself cried, "Pooh, pooh! Don't talk to me of such nonsense." His ministers, who probably knew the state of public feeling, were equally unconcerned. A few troops were brought over from the continent, to show that force was not wanting if the application of it was required. But in other respects no one appeared to believe that the assumed fears of the disaffected, and the no less assumed exultation of the Jacobite, had any foundation in fact. Trade, law, buying and selling, writing and publishing, went on exactly as before. The march of the Pretender was little attended to, except perhaps in the political circles in London. In the great towns it passed almost unheeded. Quiet families within a few miles of the invaders' march, posted or walked across to see the uncouth battalions pass. Their strange appearance furnished subjects of conversation for a month, but nowhere does there seem to have been the terror of a real state of war—the anxious waiting for intelligence, "the pang, the agony, the doubt" ; no one felt uneasy as to the result. England had determined to have no more Stuart kings, and Scotland was beginning to feel the benefit of the Union, and left the defence of the true inheritor to the uninformed, discontented, disunited inhabitants of the hills. When the tribes emerged from their mountains they seemed to melt like their winter snows. No squadrons of stout-armed cavaliers came to join them from holt and farm, as in the days of the Great Rebellion, when the royal flag was raised at Nottingham. Puritans and Independents took no heed, and cried no cries about "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon." They had turned cutlers at Sheffield, and fustian makers at Manchester. The Prince found not only that he created no enthusiasm, but no alarm, a most painful thing for an invading chief; and, in fact, when they had reached the great central plains of England, they felt lost in the immensity of the solitude that surrounded them. If they had met enemies, they would have fought ; if they had found friends, they would have hoped ; but they positively wasted away for lack of either confederate or opponent. The exhibition disappeared like a small river in sand. What was the use of going on? If they reached London itself, they would be swallowed up in the vastness of the population, and, instead of meeting an army, they would be in danger of being taken up by the police. So they reversed their steps. Donald had stolen considerably in the course of the foray, and was anxious to go and invest his fortune in his native vale. An English guinea—a coin hitherto as fabulous as the *Bodach glas*—would pay the rent of his holding for twenty years ; five pounds would make him a cousin of the Laird. But Donald never got back to display the spoils of Carlisle or Derby. He loitered by the road, and was stript of all his booty. He was imprisoned, and hanged, and starved, and beaten, and finally, after the strange tragi-comedy of his fight at Falkirk, had the good fortune, on the bare expanse of Drummossie Moor, to hide some of the ludicrous features of his retreat in the glory of a warrior's death. Justice became revenge by its severity after the insurrection was quelled.—*The Eighteen Christian Centuries. By Rev. James White.*


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